

U O A 2 4 0 8

A Catalogue and Assessment of Drawings

by Sir David Wilkie, 1785 - 1841

by

Jean Patricia Campbell, M.A.

Ph.D.

University of Edinburgh

1977



## A B S T R A C T

Drawing played a central role in the formation of David Wilkie's style. His painting style underwent a striking alteration at the very height of his popularity, and this has led to much discussion among critics, both at the time and at the present day. A study of the drawings provides some of the answers to these problems posed by the paintings, and shows Wilkie's development to have been both continuous and consistent. The catalogue lists several hundred of these drawings, and provides a rough chronological framework whereby Wilkie's development as an artist can be studied. The Thesis identifies three main periods during which Wilkie acquired new powers as a draughtsman. The first was the formative period during which he learned the grammar of his profession (1799 - 1811); the second began with his increasing awareness of the works of Rubens, and culminated in his studies in Europe between 1825 and 1828; finally the drawings made on Wilkie's last journey in the East show him attempting a style suitable for Biblical subjects.



## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the many people who have helped me in the preparation of this thesis. Friends working in the field of Scottish art history have given information, photographs and advice; my colleagues in the Fine Art Department at Edinburgh University have all offered help and encouragement over the years; private collectors have been invariably kind and often generous with photographs, as have all keepers of print and drawing departments. In the final stages family, friends and colleagues helped in a wide variety of ways, from child minding to photograph mounting.

I am grateful to my supervisors, Mr. Keith Andrews, Professor Anthony Green and Professor David Talbot Rice for their guidance. Particular thanks are due to Professor Giles Robertson, who read through the entire text and offered invaluable corrective advice; to my typists Mrs. Lynch, Miss Mitchell and Mrs. Whitehouse; and to my husband, without whose help the thesis could not have been completed.

# C O N T E N T S

## VOLUME I

## Page

Brief outline of Wilkie's working life

### Chapter

#### 1 Introduction:

Justification for studying the drawings 1

#### 2 Sources of information for Wilkie's drawings:

Sale catalogues 11  
Wilkie's letters and journal 23  
Extant drawings 24

#### 3 The development of the training of draughtsmen in Scotland in the eighteenth century:

Background to Wilkie's training under John Graham at the Antique Academy in Edinburgh 26

### Section I

#### 4 1785 - 1805: Juvenilia and the first formative period:

Early influences 38  
The Trustee Academy 42  
Drawings for Pitlessie Fair 50

#### 5 1805 - 1811: Wilkie in London - his first success:

The Royal Academy 54  
Early commissions and patrons 55  
The Dutch style 59  
Drawings for Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage 60  
Developments in preparatory methods 61  
Drawings for The Alehouse Door 63

### Section II

#### 6 1812 - 1818: Contacts with Scottish culture:

Scottish literary and artistic friends 72  
Taste and compromise 75  
The influence of engraving 78  
Further developments in draughtsmanship - the influence of Rubens 81  
Drawings for The Penny Wedding 83

7	<u>1818 - 1822: The Chelsea Pensioners:</u> <u>"One of the most stupendous things</u> <u>ever painted":</u>	
	Introduction	89
	The commission and its history	91
	The five phases of development	97
	Rubens and the studies for <u>The Chelsea Pensioners</u>	102
	The method of working	104
	The finished picture	106
8	<u>1822 - 1825: "To be successful in</u> <u>wielding the full powers of art seems</u> <u>worthy of Man's ambition":</u>	
	Drawings for historical subjects - John Knox, Mary Queen of Scots, George IV, etc.	109
	Related Hogarthian genre subjects - The Christening, The Rich Relation, etc.	114
	A new method of working - <u>The</u> <u>Smugglers' Return, The Parish Beadle</u>	116
9	<u>1825 - 1828: Studies in Europe and the</u> <u>change in painting style:</u>	
	Wilkie's illness and travels	120
	Copies of Michelangelo	122
	Developments in method of working	126
	Spanish subjects	127
10	<u>1829 - 1840: Limner to the King:</u>	
	Reception of new painting style in England	130
	Reversion to old method of working	131
	Continuing interest in Scottish subjects	132
	Transitions in genre - drawings for <u>The First Earring</u>	135
	The Hero	139
	Religious subjects	143
	<u>Section III</u>	
11	<u>1840 - 1841: The last journey:</u>	
	Synopsis	145
	Studies in Europe	149
	The problem of first impressions	161
	Portrait drawings	166

## 11 (contd.)

Reformers in the East	172
Dramatic history subjects	174
Genre subjects in Constantinople and Jerusalem	178
Drawings of religious subjects made in Jerusalem	187
Artists in the East	208
Types of drawing; purpose & media	218

Conclusion:

Wilkie's aims and achievements	225
--------------------------------	-----

NotesBibliography

## VOLUME II

## Catalogue

## VOLUMES III, IV &amp; V

## Plates

### ABBREVIATIONS

B.M.	British Museum, London.
Burl. Mag.	<u>Burlington Magazine</u> .
Cun.	Cunningham's <u>Life of Sir David Wilkie</u> , London 1843.
E.U.L.	Edinburgh University Library.
G.B.A.	<u>Gazette des Beaux Arts</u> .
H.E.H.	Henry E. Huntington Museum and Library, San Marino, California.
J.W.C.I.	<u>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</u> .
Nat. Trust	National Trust for Scotland.
N.G.S.	National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
N.L.S.	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
N.P.G.	National Portrait Gallery, London.
N.P.G.S.	National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.
R.A.	Royal Academy of Arts, London.
R.S.A.	Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh.
S.R.O.	Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh.
V. & A.	Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

OUTLINE OF THE WORKING LIFE OF

SIR DAVID WILKIE

This brief outline is intended to provide a frame of reference for the drawings by indicating the friends, patrons, commissions and travels which had most bearing at different periods on Wilkie's choice of subject and on his developing style. The completion or exhibition dates of paintings for which drawings are known to have been made are noted as far as possible, and his foreign itineraries indicate possible dates for named drawings.

OUTLINE OF THE WORKING LIFE OF SIR DAVID WILKIE

---

1785 November 18th David Wilkie born; third son of Isabella and David Wilkie, minister of Cults.

1791<sup>c.</sup>-  
1797 Attended Pitlessie school.

1797-  
1799 Attended Kettle school.

1799 Attended Cupar Academy for a few months. Encouraged at this time by Lord Crawford and the Earl of Leven. Met David Martin, portraitist, brother to the neighbouring minister of Monimail.

In November, entered Trustee Academy as probationer; took lodgings in Nicolson Street, Edinburgh. Early acquaintances in Edinburgh included William Allan, John Burnet, David Thomson, Thomas Macdonald and Thomas Chalmers.

c.  
1801 Won second prize at the Academy for Lady Macduff defending her son.

1803 Painted Ceres in Search of Proserpine. Won first



prize in the annual Trustee Academy competition with Diana and Calisto.

- 1804 Returned to Cults. Began Pitlessie Fair, Self-portrait and Village Politicians. Painted several miniatures and portraits of local people. Took a pupil.
- 1805 20th May - sailed for London. First lodgings at 8, Norton Street, Portland Road.  
July - became a probationer in the Royal Academy classes. Met Haydon and Jackson. Painted and sold The Village Recruit.
- 1806 The Village Politicians met with outstanding success at the R.A. exhibition and was bought by Lord Mansfield. Wilkie attended lectures by Charles Bell, and painted The Blind Fiddler for Sir George Beaumont and Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage for Alexander Davison's History of England, a gallery of paintings. He began Sunday Morning, The Dorty Bairn, and The Rent Day. Wilkie met Andrew Wilson and Bannister the actor. He and his friends held morning gatherings to discuss art. Wilkie visited the galleries of Mr. Hope, the Marquis of Stafford and Mr. Angerstein. He painted several portraits - William Stodart, Matthew Stodart, Mrs. Matthew Stodart, Dr. Carnaby, and Mr. Clough.



- 1807 Burnet's engraving of The Village Politicians made against Sir George Beaumont's advice. Returned to Cults in May for a holiday. Later George Thomson commissioned a Penny Wedding. First contact with John Galt.
- Exhibited The Blind Fiddler. Praised by Benjamin West. The Card Players commissioned by the Duke of Gloucester. Painted Portrait of his Parents and Lady Mary Fitzgerald. Engravings of The Clubbists and The New Coat published by March 1807.
- 1808 Began his journal. Moved to Mrs. Coppard's, 84 Great Portland Street. Visited collections of Mr. Rodgers, Mr. Wells, Mr. Ridley Colborne, Mr. Annesley, the British Museum, Benjamin West, Lord Radstock, Lord Darnley, Lord Audley, Sir John Dyke. Met the Segulier brothers, William Mulready, John Constable, Mrs. Thomson, Andrew Robertson, Samuel Dobree, Joanna Baillie, Goldsmith, Raimbach and Robert Liston.
- First idea for Not at Home. Working on The Sick Lady, The Jews Harp, Portrait of the Marchioness of Lansdown with her Page, The Cut Finger and The Neave Family.
- 1809 Attended Carlisle's lectures on anatomy. Visited Ottley's collection.
- 17th April - met Sir Walter Scott.
- First visit to Coleorton Hall; introduction to Wordsworth's ideas.

7th November - elected A.R.A.

Working on The Alehouse Door. Thomas Hope withdrew a commission because Wilkie was engaged in painting portraits.

1810 April - The Wardrobe Ransacked withdrawn from R.A. exhibition.

August - October - Wilkie convalescing at Joanna Baillie's house, Hampstead. Followed by a visit to Dunmow. Changed lodgings to Manor Terrace, King's Road, Chelsea.

Working on The Gamekeeper, Chelsea Pensioners at Pension Time (a first idea for the later painting). Sir William Erskine commissioned a Penny Wedding.

1811 February 12th - Wilkie elected R.A. Painted The Rat Catchers as his Diploma work. Visited Cults, moved lodgings to 29 Lower Phillimore Place, Kensington. Private exhibition at 87 Pall Mall. Distraigned for rent.

1812 Father died 1st December.

Blind Man's Buff commissioned by the Prince Regent

1813 Helen and Mrs Wilkie moved to London having destroyed much of Wilkie's early work, on his instructions. Wilkie working on The Letter of Introduction for

Samuel Dobree.

- 1814 First visit abroad. Dieppe, Rouen, Magny, Pontoise, Paris, with Haydon.  
First major contact with the large scale work of Rubens  
The Marie de Medici cycle. Studied French collections of Flemish masters and the modern French School.  
Working on The Pedlar for Dr Baillie and Distraining for Rent.
- 1815 Distraining for Rent bought by the British Institution for 600 gns. Wilkie working on the Rabbit on the Wall.  
Completed the Portrait of Miss Phipps
- 1816 Second visit abroad with Raimbach to the Netherlands via Margate, Ostend, Amsterdam, Antwerp. Rubens studied again.  
Received the commission for the Chelsea Pensioners.
- 1817 Completed The Breakfast for the Marquis of Stafford.  
August & September - working tour of Southern Scotland including a visit to Dugald Stewart and Dr Chalmers.  
He travelled from Edinburgh, via Bò'ness, Alloa, Stirling, Glasgow, The Trossachs, Kames Castle, Isle of Bute, Argyll, Inverary, Luss, Blair Athol, Cults, Edinburgh, Abbotsford.  
November 17th - Received the freedom of Cupar.

Completed Sheepwashing, The Broken China Jar and Bathsheba (2).

1818 Working on The Scott Family, The Errand Boy, The China Menders, the Nymphs gathering Grapes, a portrait of Abraham Raimbach, the Penny Wedding and the Chelsea Pensioners.

Accepted the commission from Samuel Dobree for The Death of Sir Philip Sidney.

1819 Sir Willoughby Gordon commissioned a portrait of The Duke of York. The King of Bavaria commissioned The Opening of a Will which engaged Wilkie for most of the year. Ridley Colbourne suggested The Beadle as a subject. William Smellie Watson assisted Wilkie at this time. Completed Sir Philip Sidney, The China Menders, The Whisky Still of Loch Gilphead, Duncan Gray (duplicate), the Penny Wedding.

1820 Wilkie principally engaged with the Chelsea Pensioners Received commissions for a Fortune Teller from Mr Frank Whiting, The School, Guess my Name for Mr Zachary and Count Schoenbrow. Completed the Reading a Will and The Veteran Highlanders. Visited Dr Thomson to convalesce after illness. George IV wished to buy Reading the Will - Sir Thomas Lawrence

1820 settled the matter.

1821 First mention of The Girl getting her ears pierced for Lord Dunstanville. Wilkie completed The News-monger, The Athol Highlander and two versions of Guess my Name. Worked on his subject of Knox Preaching. Third visit to France, with Colonel Annesley, via Boulogne to Paris. Drew two Cuyps in the Louvre and studied Titian, Correggio, Rubens and Rembrandt for their qualities of rich tone.

1822. The Chelsea Pensioners exhibited and caused great excitement. George IV refused the Knox Preaching. Wilkie working on The Parish Beadle. Visit to Edinburgh to collect material for Knox and for a picture commemorating George IV's visit to Scotland. Visit to Niton to work up the drawings. George IV's Arrival at Holyrood Palace decided upon.

1823 July 15th - Wilkie appointed Limner to the King for Scotland. Exhibited The Parish Beadle, The Duke of York, Peggy and Jenny listening to Patie piping.

1824. 11th November - Mrs Wilkie died. December - James Wilkie and Robert Nursey died. Wilkie completed The Cottage Toilette for the Duke of Bedford, The Smugglers for Sir Robert Peel, and The Sportsman for General Phipps

1825

John Wilkie died.

The Highland Family completed for the Duke of Essex. Wilkie ill. He let his house and began convalescent travels abroad with David Lister in July. His route was Rouen, Paris, Geneva, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Sienna, Rome.

Wilkie began studies of the pifferari.

1826

January to April based in Rome.

January and February drawing Sibyls from the Sistine Ceiling, studying works of art and arranging tableaux vivants.

From April to December visited Bologna, Parma, Venice, Verona, Padua, Munich, Dresden, Carlsbad, Prague, Vienna, Trieste, back to Florence and Rome.

No paintings completed. Hurst and Robinson (Wilkie's print publishers) failed.

1827

Based in Rome.

April 27th - two pictures completed: The Confessional and The Pifferari playing Hymns to the Madonna.

Wilkie's financial affairs were taken care of by his brother Thomas at this time. At home in London Alexander Fraser was working for Wilkie making copies of his works, presumably for sale. Wilkie began picture dealing with Andrew Wilson. Left Rome for Florence in May, continued to Genoa, Lucca and Pisa.



1820

Travelled to Geneva, Lyons, Montpellier to Spain.

October 1st at St Jean de Luz, proceeded via Vittoria and Toledo to Madrid, where he met Washington Irving.

Completed A Roman Princess washing the Pilgrim's Feet, at Geneva.

The Guerilla's Return, Remount at Millbrook.

1828

Based in Madrid, studying the collections at the Escorial.

April - left for France via New Castille, La Mancha, The Sierra Morena, Baylen, Cordova to Seville where he remained for the rest of April before returning to Madrid until the middle of May. He was at Paris on June 1st and London two weeks later.

Painted in Madrid Portrait of a Spanish Senhoritta, The Spanish Posada, the Guerilla taking leave of his Confessor and the Maid of Saragossa (completed in London by February 1829).

1829

The King bought Wilkie's pictures.

Wilkie revisited Scotland and renewed contact with Sir Walter Scott.

Completed The Head of Piping Boy, Cardinals, Priests and Roman Citizens washing the Pilgrims' Feet, Baptism in the Church of Scotland and Portrait of the Earl of Kellie.

- 1830 Both Sir Robert Peel and Sir William Knighton became increasingly helpful to Wilkie.
- 25th February - Wilkie appointed Limner to the King on the death of Sir Thomas Lawrence. Martin Arthur Shee appointed President of the R.A. George IV at Holyrood Palace completed at last in the new style. The Guerilla's Return, Banquet at Milnwood, and Portraits of George IV in Highland Dress (2) and Sir Alex Keith painted. George IV died.
- 1831 Completed Lady Lyndhurst, Viscount Melville, Peveril of the Peak and George IV in Highland Dress.
- 1832 Completed John Knox preaching and William IV in the Robes of the Garter. The duties of his position of Limner to the King increased his output of portraiture.
- 1833 Completed two portraits of William IV, and one of the Duke of Sussex in Highland dress. Painted Spanish Monks at Toledo. Arranged tableaux vivants and worked on a portrait of the Duke of Wellington at Hatfield and worked at Windsor on a range of portraits of William and Adelaide. Made studies for the Spanish Mother and Mary Queen of Scots escaping from Loch Leven Castle.



1834 Visited Blenheim. Visited Scotland and received the commission for Sir David Baird at the Battle of Seringapatam. Worked on The First Earring, Griselda Baillie, Columbus and Mary Queen of Scots. Completed Not at Home, The Spanish Mother, three royal portraits, The Duke of Wellington with his Charger and Sir John Leslie. He continued friendly with John Constable who posed for a figure in the Columbus.

1835 This was a most active and fruitful year. He worked on a wide range of Scottish subjects like The Scottish Regalia concealed at Kinneith and reconsidered religious subjects, e.g. Martin Luther, while working on Napoleon and the Pope at Fontainebleau. He completed two versions of The First Earring, The Nursery, Sancho Panza in the days of his Youth, The Duke of Wellington whole length, The Rev. Edward Irving, Sir James McGrigor and Christopher Columbus at La Rabida.

August - September - visited Ireland, renewed an acquaintance with Maria Edgeworth and an interest in confessional scenes and the Protestant/Catholic question as a theme for art.

1836. Wilkie was knighted by William IV. The Remarks on Art were written circa 1836 and published as a fragment in Cunningham Vol III. Wilkie continued working on Mary's Escape and Sir David Baird. In

1836 addition he began Josephine and the Fortune Teller and a portrait of Daniel O'Connell. He completed La Vie Domestique, Hiding the Scottish Regalia, and The Peep o'Day Boy, The Duke of Wellington writing a Dispatch, Napoleon and the Pope, William Esdaile and Lord Montagu.

1837 Moved house to Vicarage Place, Kensington. (a design) Still working on Sir David Baird, and a series about the girlhood of Victoria. Exhibited Mary Queen of Scots escaping from Loch Leven Castle, The Empress Josephine and the Fortune Teller, The Cottar's Saturday Night, and portraits of William IV The Earl of Tankerville, Thomas Wilkie Reading, and a drawing of Sir William Knighton. July 6th - William IV died; Victoria became Queen of England. Began work on The Queen's First Council at Brighton at the end of the year. Victoria reappointed Wilkie as Painter in Ordinary but appointed Hayter as her portrait painter.

1838 Exhibited The Queen's First Council, The Bride at her Toilette, portraits of Daniel O'Connell, Mrs Moberly, Thomas Daniell R.A., and a Young Lady. Completed, in July, Alderman Lucas's portrait, and, late in the year, Sir David Baird. Visited Scotland to gather material for Scottish subjects including John Knox at Calder House. Travelled via Alnwick, Edinburgh and Glasgow to Ayr.

- 1839 Working on Knox at Calder House, Sir Peter Laurie (August) and Lord Arbuthnot (September). Completed Grace before Meat, the small Irish Whisky Still, and portraits of William IV, Joseph Wilson Esq. and his Grandson, & Master James Robert Donne. Visited Fife in September.
- 1840 Exhibited Benvenuto Cellini and the Censer (a design based on his etching of 1824), Queen Victoria in her Robes of State, Viscount Arbuthnot, A Scene from The Gentle Shepherd (part of a projected series), Mrs Ferguson, The Irish Whisky Still, The Hookabadar, The Disabled Commodore in retirement at Greenwich. Working on John Knox at Calder House - two oil studies - until he left for the East on August 15th. His route was The Hague, Amsterdam, Cologne, Mayence, Nuremburg, Munich, Salzburg, Vienna, Budapest, Orsova, Rustchuk, Constantinople. October 7th - January 15th 1841 - at Constantinople. Painted the Sultan.
- 1841 January 16th - February 1st at Smyrna  
February 9th - 20th at Beyrout  
February 25th - 27th at Jaffa  
February 27 - April 7th - at Jerusalem  
April 8th and 9th passing through Jaffa  
April 10th - 16th at Damettia

April 30th - May 21st at Alexandria - painted Mehemet

CHAPTER 1

Ali

May 27th - June 1st Malta

June 1st 1841 died off the coast of Gibraltar on  
board ship.

---ooOoo---

## CHAPTER 1

### Introduction

In 1823 David Wilkie R.A. (1785-1841) succeeded Sir Henry Raeburn in the high position of Limner to the King in Scotland. From thence he passed rapidly from honour to honour, succeeding Lawrence as Principal Painter in Ordinary to George IV and retaining that position during the reigns of William IV and Queen Victoria. In 1830 he was one of the contestants for the Presidency of the Royal Academy; he was knighted in 1836. His works were extremely popular with the public - so much so that in the 1822 Royal Academy Exhibition such crowds gathered around his painting of the "Chelsea Pensioners", that barriers had to be erected to preserve it from damage.<sup>1</sup> In 1847 a writer in the Art Journal remarked (with reference to the 1842 sale of his effects) that he had no finished oils left on his hands at the time of his death. A testimony to his eminence exists on the Albert Memorial, where he is sculpted overlooking Turner's work in a group of the most important British artists, while in John Martin's painting of the "Last Judgement" (1853) he attains even higher eminence in the majestic international company of artists which includes Michaelangelo, Titian, Raphael, Leonardo de Vinci, Rubens and Durer.

Despite this acclaim of immediate successors, Wilkie's reputation subsequently suffered eclipse and even denigration for almost a century; as a measure of this neglect, it may be noted that no significant monograph on Wilkie has been published since Cunningham's "Life" in 1843. It was not until 1958 that the Wilkie exhibition in London and Edinburgh triggered off a remarkably swift revival of interest in his work.

Wilkie's profound and extensive influence on the development of many areas of British 19th-century art is once again acknowledged, but both this and the earlier accolade are based on an unbalanced view because they have tended to concentrate on merely one type of subject matter. Nineteenth-century writers showed a uniform bias towards the early work of Wilkie and an unfamiliarity with the late paintings and drawings.

Mrs. Heaton makes a remark characteristic of this group when she says, speaking of Wilkie's paintings executed after 1826: "The pictures that he painted in the latter style are not many".<sup>2</sup> A quick check through the list of paintings in Allan Cunningham's major Life of Sir David Wilkie reveals that the opposite was true.<sup>3</sup> At the present time, instead of admiring Wilkie as the inaugurator of genre painting and "greatly lamenting the change in his style produced by his long residence on the continent",<sup>4</sup> Wilkie's critics find it "little short of miraculous that, at the age of forty-two the trivial painter of the first group of pictures should have become the very

significant artist of the second"<sup>5</sup> for "this changed style with its powerful impact and lovely feeling for tone, stamps him out, not as a derivative and timid Scottish Teniers but as a considerable figure amongst his European contemporaries".<sup>6</sup>

All critics have agreed, however, on one major point. It has always been recognised that a marked dichotomy of style exists between Wilkie's paintings before and after his study travels on the Continent from 1825 to 1828. Wilkie himself made it clear<sup>7</sup> that the change in style was intentional, with particular aims and purposes - indeed, this change was so marked that other aspects of Wilkie's development have roused little comment.

In the past the genre style was always considered Wilkie's forte and his later excursion into the Grand Manner 'misled' or at best a noble experiment. This was largely due to the fact that the basic artificiality of the allegedly natural, simple and realistic early works was not recognised, while the drama of the history paintings more easily alienated British taste, and became more rapidly considered old fashioned. Usually 19th-century critics castigate Wilkie for abandoning the honest recording of real people and moral domestic virtues (to which employment he, as a Scottish clergyman's son, was peculiarly suited) for a mistaken ambition to emulate the abstractions of the Italians. These arguments are perennial in British art, echoing the howls of protest and derision which greeted the



appearance of Hogarth's "Sigismunda"<sup>8</sup> and the criticisms of the elevated style of the most classicising portraits by Reynolds. These criticisms of Hogarth and Reynolds are now generally agreed to have been over harsh, but the case of Greuze (who worked in a similar area of domestic genre to Wilkie) provides a salutary reminder that not all painters of moral genre scenes were able to move with confidence and success into the realms of history painting.<sup>9</sup> The common problem facing such artists as Greuze, Hogarth, David Allan and Wilkie was the conflict between their belief in the superiority of history painting inculcated by their Academic training, and the necessity of satisfying public taste for genre scenes painted in a detailed manner. Most critics contemporary with Wilkie reflected the prevailing national taste for genre subjects.

Wilkie had early ambitions to be a painter of significant subjects - not in the outmoded neoclassical manner followed by Haydon, but in the manner of Scott, interpreting history with romantic realism. For a while he was persuaded that this was not his *métier*,<sup>10</sup> but by 1825, having secured the confidence of the public by a series of fine and popular genre works, he felt able to undertake a special period of study<sup>11</sup> and self-training in order to develop a new, broad painting style. Such a style, he felt, would be appropriate to the treatment of subjects from recent history, incorporating modern heroes, a combination bound to interest and excite a



nineteenth-century audience. A continuous development of style in this direction had been evident in his drawings for some time previously. Indeed, Brydall makes the important point that "Wilkie repeatedly changed his style ... he experimented in his own powers with the intention of developing new methods, and was cautious in allowing himself to believe that he had at any time attained the greatest excellence of which he was capable".<sup>12</sup>

It is quite clear from Wilkie's own writings on art that he considered the transition from a minute style of handling to more enlarged effects to be a completely natural, though deliberate, one: a transition followed by all the great masters.<sup>13</sup> This view is borne out by a study of Wilkie's drawings, as the catalogue will show. Unlike Constable, Wilkie was an eminently teachable artist, a perennial student of precisely the type envisaged by Reynolds in his first two Discourses. Reynolds believed above all else that "nothing is denied to well-directed labour: nothing is to be obtained without it".<sup>14</sup> Wilkie was unconscious of any innate artistic ability, but he too was convinced of the value of study. The key to understanding Wilkie's work lies therefore in following his search for new avenues of expression: a search which is embodied in the drawings.

However far opinions on Wilkie's merit as a painter may diverge, critics are at one in their admiration for Wilkie as a draughtsman throughout all phases of his development. A remark passed on an early Academic sketch

from an antique foot, that it "looked more like a fluke",<sup>15</sup> and one by John Burnet on the "mannered"<sup>16</sup> qualities of his latest drawings, are among the very few that are not praise. While he might occasionally fail in life-size painting by overscaling his figures, he never made this mistake in the drawings themselves. Wilkie's chiaroscuro, which in the paintings was a challenge to Turner, Calcott and the "white painters" of the nineteenth century, and which was so soon outmoded by the lighter palette of the Pre-Raphaelites, is never demodé in the drawings.

Wilkie himself considered his drawings as sufficiently important to keep and use as basic material for more than one picture. Just as his friend, Constable, used his fresh oil studies from nature as material for finished pictures, so Wilkie gathered visual records in the form of working drawings (his stock in trade). The statement attributed to Constable that his paintings were the corn while his sketches were the field, and that he would part with the former but not the latter, could equally be applied to Wilkie's drawings. From the appearance of several groups of pencil sketches signed with pen it seems that Wilkie appreciated that his signature gave them an added value, and he must frequently have signed and dated drawings in retrospect.<sup>17</sup>

One can expect to find a freshness and individuality of approach in Wilkie's drawings which were impossible in the paintings. This is usually so in any artist's oeuvre,

but it is particularly evident in Wilkie's early work when he was attempting to establish his reputation. Entirely dependent on patronage, Wilkie was obliged not only to satisfy public taste but also the peculiar wishes of a patron. His own stipulated view, that an artist must paint for his public in order to be intelligible,<sup>18</sup> cannot but have hampered his freedom of execution, but may be assumed to have affected his drawing style much less, if at all. When discussing the general and formal tendencies of Italian religious painting during his Continental travels, Wilkie himself admitted that the British tended to paint rather for Exhibitions than for private contemplation. Since his reputation was established by paintings exhibited at the Royal Academy, his own paintings were bound to reflect a little of this attitude. One may therefore expect to glimpse much more of Wilkie's untrammelled ideas and natural style, and less of nineteenth century British taste, in the private intimate preparatory work made for his own use.

Like Hogarth before him, Wilkie had to rely on money from the sale of prints after his paintings to eke out his meagre income, for the price he could obtain for his picture barely covered the cost of models and materials during the early part of his career. This financial exigency encouraged his tendency to paint tightly and with clear outlines, so that the engraver of the picture could readily transcribe the important features of the composition onto the plate.<sup>19</sup> Once again, the preparatory drawings

did not suffer this limitation.

It may be argued that the freedom of the drawings from the pressure of patronage or the need to translate into a linear medium allowed his talent to develop freely, so that a survey of Wilkie as a draughtsman would give a truer picture of his abilities than would a survey of the paintings. The great value of the drawings is that, thanks to Wilkie's careful husbandry of his work, the historian can recreate an immeasurably more complete picture of Wilkie's ideas, subject matter, methods of working and stylistic development than is possible from a study of the paintings alone. As against one hundred and fifty paintings listed by Cunningham over two thousand drawings are recorded in the catalogues of the sales of his effects. A fuller chronology can be established by the dated drawings which enable relationships between pictures of widely differing subjects and dates of execution to be traced.<sup>20</sup> Occasionally extant drawings for lost pictures give one a clear idea of the nature of the finished composition; sometimes drawings exist of subjects associated with known pictures, giving a complex impression of the alternatives considered by Wilkie, before he embarked upon a painting. It is only through drawings that we know of some of Wilkie's most interesting ideas for subjects which were never committed to paint: his Scottish heroes and heroines, his Columbus subjects and the religious works from the last journey.

Above all, the drawings executed by Wilkie reveal

a consistent broadening of style and a growing mastery of technique during his lifelong search for excellence.

There are three major periods in which Wilkie was consciously using his drawings as a means of study and learning in order to prepare for a particular type of subject; this thesis focuses on these three areas of concentration and assesses some of their results. The first period comprises the formative years when Wilkie was learning the grammar of drawing at the Trustee Academy in Edinburgh (1799 - 1804) and later at the Royal Academy in London (1805 ff). The second culminates in Wilkie's famous period of study of the Grand Style among the Old Masters in Italy and Spain (1825 - 1828), but starts much earlier with his awareness of Rubens through travels in 1814 and 1816, and is well established by 1822. This period of drawing had most marked results subsequently in both dramatic history and genre paintings, and was consolidated over the decade 1830 - 1840. The final study period in the East (1840 - 1841) was at least as important, for it prepared Wilkie for work on his most ambitious task: a series of large Biblical subjects in which his previous studies from life and his interest in religious and historical subjects were to be united. Wilkie experienced particular difficulty in remaining open to new ideas and influences in the alien atmosphere of the Middle East; nevertheless, his last grand conceptions can be glimpsed through the imagery of his drawings, which include some of the loveliest and most accomplished of his mature phase.

It is in his drawings that Wilkie's stature as an artist is most convincingly displayed, and it is his consistent variety and extension of his own experience that enabled Cummings to say:

"Wilkie is a major artist of the Romantic period. The range of his subject matter is broad, his technique is solidly grounded and frequently brilliant, and his compositions are infused with a variety and richness of forms and figures that is rare in British painting". 21



## CHAPTER 2

### Sources of information for Wilkie's drawings

The terms of Wilkie's Will required his executors to sell all his effects, including his drawings, for the benefit of his relatives.<sup>1</sup> After his death on June 1st 1841, this was accordingly done by means of three sales at Christie and Mansons. The first and major sale, held in April 1842,<sup>2</sup> lasted six days. The lots, largely made up of Wilkie's own paintings and drawings, included his collection of Old Masters. The second, in May 1842,<sup>3</sup> was a short two day clearance sale of the contents of Wilkie's studio and library, together with his extensive collection of engravings. Eighteen years later, in June 1860, a third sale<sup>4</sup> disposed of the remaining drawings, engravings and etchings. It lasted only two days, and aroused far less interest than the earlier sales.<sup>5</sup>

The catalogues of these sales form the richest single contemporary source of original information about Wilkie's drawings. Many of those recorded are now lost, and the catalogues provide the only available information about subject, date, medium, quality, or state of finish of several interesting and significant works.<sup>6</sup> Qualitative assessments, made when such a bulk of drawings could be seen in relation to each other and compared with each

other, are useful, and frequently occur in the brief descriptions appended to many of the entries.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the catalogues supply information covering areas of Wilkie's activities as a draughtsman which would otherwise be completely uncharted.<sup>8</sup>

They do not, however, provide an absolutely complete survey of Wilkie's drawings. Many must have been given away to hosts and friends, like those given to ancestors of John Heygate during Wilkie's visit to North Mymms.<sup>9</sup> Others were certainly kept by members of his family, who had, until 1964, at least several hundred drawings.<sup>10</sup> Apart from the inevitable accidental losses, some must have been destroyed<sup>11</sup> or sold<sup>12</sup> during the artist's lifetime. On the other hand, it has already been noted that Wilkie<sup>13</sup> was an artist who relied more than was usual upon his portfolios of drawings as material for paintings throughout his life, and had preserved them carefully. Two

further sale catalogues afford circumstantial evidence that Wilkie sold large numbers of his drawings during his lifetime. His family commitments increased after 1824, and were followed by the failure of the firm of Hurst and Robinson, which affected Wilkie's financial affairs.<sup>14</sup> This might account for the extensive collection of Wilkie drawings owned by B.G. Windus of Tottenham,<sup>15</sup> which was sold at Christie's in June 1842.<sup>16</sup> (These cannot be identified with any drawings sold two months previously in the first sale of Wilkie's effects). No doubt there were similar contemporary collections of Wilkie drawings, such as the Smith collection, sold, largely to Boys, in 1836.<sup>17</sup> Latterly Wilkie may also have sold finished portrait drawings, such as that of Mrs. Moore (1841.36).



Information is difficult to extract from the sale catalogues, because in all six sales the material was rather haphazardly grouped in order to make up interesting lots.<sup>18</sup> This is particularly true of the 1860 sale, which was disposing of assorted left-overs to a public whose interest in Wilkie had flagged.<sup>19</sup> The grouping of lots in the first 1842 sale at least follows a simplified chronological order, interspersed with groups of "Hands", "Tinted Drawings", or "Academy Studies" (under headings of medium, place or subject). Most lots in the first sale, unlike those in the others, consist of a specified single drawing, and are therefore easier to identify.

The amount of precise and useful information about the drawings varies from lot to lot. Each drawing is usually identified in the catalogues by a title connecting it with a known work, or by a brief description. Less than half of the entries mention the medium used; signature and date are only intermittently specified, and occasionally the state of the drawing (i.e. whether "slight", "finished", "capital", etc.) is entered. The price paid for the lot, and the name of the buyer, sometimes indicates that it was an interesting piece.<sup>20</sup>

On the whole, allowing for a greater loss from the section of earlier drawings, when Wilkie was not yet famous and his style less distinctive, and the exceptional circumstances relating to the group dating from his last journey which is substantially complete, a well balanced and very comprehensive impression of the nature of Wilkie's subject matter, and of his development in the use of various

media throughout his life, can be gleaned from these catalogues. Such information can correct impressions derived from an exclusive study of the rather haphazard selection of drawings which has chanced to survive to the present day.

Light thrown by the catalogues on the problem of the media used by Wilkie is only partial, and may therefore be misleading. Mixed media are seldom mentioned, and in almost half of the lots in the first sale no medium is recorded. As one would expect from a cursory glance at collections of extant drawings, pen and ink is the medium most frequently recorded, with almost half as many in chalk, considerably fewer "tinted", and a mere handful in lead.<sup>21</sup> Reference to catalogue entries connected with dated paintings suggests that chalk was Wilkie's principal medium (usually black chalk, sometimes on coloured paper) until 1813. Only three pen and ink or coloured drawings are recorded before this date.<sup>22</sup> From the same sources it appears that the drawings for Blind Man's Bluff (1813) employed pen as much as chalk; gradually, during the years when The Reading of the Will (1820) and the Chelsea Pensioners (1822) were being prepared, pen and ink evidently became the favourite medium. Throughout this period, colour with the exception of red chalk was seldom used, in great contrast to the later period - for example in the preparatory sketches for Sir David Baird (1836), half of the recorded drawings employed colour (seven colour, five pen and ink, three

chalk). By the time that Wilkie was working on Mary Queen of Scots escaping from Loch Leven Castle, colour seems to have become the medium most constantly used, for no less than eleven watercolour sketches are recorded, as against three chalk and three pen drawings.<sup>1833. 65-81</sup> This pattern is confirmed by a study of the extant <sup>1836.1-9</sup> drawings of these pictures.<sup>23</sup>

The catalogues also show that Wilkie did not appear to reserve a particular medium for his highly finished drawings; neither did theme determine the ultimate choice of one medium in preference to another. Out of twenty eight named portraits, pen and ink (fourteen), chalk (nine), and colours (five) were all used, and a similar proportion pertains to the case of sixty general studies of people. The case of animal, landscape, still life and Academy studies is different, however; chalk predominates, while pen and colours appear in only a few. This may be partly explained if these are principally early drawings, dating from the time when chalk was almost invariably preferred. Chalk was also Wilkie's favourite medium for studies of hands, as one can see from the seventy lots of drawings of hands recorded in the catalogues.<sup>24</sup> In connection with this particular set of drawings, it is interesting to see that of the thirty nine lots of hands identified as preparatory sketches for known paintings, twice as many belong to the pre-Spanish period of Wilkie's work as belong to the period after 1826. This reflects both the reduction in the number of figures

in Wilkie's later compositions, and a reduction in the number of detailed studies from life for such figures.

Amongst the drawings connected with known paintings there was a substantial number of figure studies (eighty seven lots) and portraits (thirty three lots) which remain otherwise unidentified in the catalogues. A few studies of animals (twenty lots), still lives (sixteen lots) and Academy studies (fifteen lots), with a minute handful of landscape studies (six lots), and a greater group of topographical drawings, also defy further analysis.

Some of the most interesting and helpful information in the catalogues refers to a group of subjects in one hundred and eighty six lots, considered by Wilkie for compositions, and brought to varying degrees of development, but never executed in paint. Miscellaneous undeveloped single drawings, probably discarded almost immediately as of insufficient interest for subjects for painting, but often satisfactory as highly finished sketches, include hunting scenes, games (e.g. "Throwing at the Sticks"<sup>25</sup>) and ordinary skilful actions such as "Unwinding the Skein of Silk"<sup>26</sup>, "Sheep Shearing"<sup>27</sup>, or "Working a Gun"<sup>28</sup>. Drawings for tableaux vivants<sup>29</sup> and subjects from literature are catalogued, which receive little mention elsewhere.

In the case of other subjects, Wilkie seems to have persevered further, for several relatively well developed series existed (for example, the group of thirteen drawings entitled The Funeral, and Leaving the Manse).  
1813. 24-29

In the present climate of opinion, the drawings for

unpainted history subjects hold a position of particular interest. This large and fascinating group (consisting of thirty four lots) indicates that, had Wilkie been given the opportunity, he would have preferred to paint a much higher proportion of serious subjects from British history, in the dramatic manner of his Mary Queen of Scots, or Sir David Baird. Some of the most interesting studies from this group are those of the mid 1830's which pursue the conflict between Catholicism and the Reformed religion in British politics. Certain drawings in this category must have been carried to a very high degree of finish, for high prices were paid for them at the sales.<sup>30</sup> This significant group of drawings reinforces the other evidence that Wilkie's interest after the late eighteen twenties was by no means confined to modern Spain and historical Scotland.<sup>31</sup>

A different kind of interest is aroused by the references in the catalogues to sketches made by Wilkie on his journeys, within the British Isles and abroad. In particular, they provide evidence that with each journey Wilkie became increasingly susceptible to foreign influences, and aware of the potential artistic value of travel. The visual records of local characteristics of people and places made during the 1816 visit to the Continent are overshadowed by the greater abundance of drawings of a definite subject (usually an incident) in the Italian and Spanish drawings, dating from 1826 to 1828. This tendency to recognise and record possible subjects for pictures



is even more marked in the studies from his Irish trip in 1835, which display a much greater bias towards dramatic incidents. 1835.30-82

Above all, in this group, there are the references to drawings made during Wilkie's last journey to the Holy Land. These mark the culmination of his aims and achievements as a draughtsman. These drawings, together with a brief account of their subject matter, are recorded principally in the 1842 sale catalogue; a small number remained until the 1860 sale. Several works are included which have no mention either in Cunningham's notes or in Wilkie's letters and diaries, so that it is likely that the only drawings missing from the group of the last journey are those duplicate portraits executed for the sitters' families, and gifted by Wilkie on the spot. Combined with a study of the extant drawings and oils, and the relevant references in Cunningham's as well as Wilkie's unpublished letters from this period, the information contributed by the catalogues gives an exceptionally clear picture of Wilkie's attitude to art at the very end of his life, and indicates the beginning of a new phase of his development prophetic for later British nineteenth-century painting. 1840.10-1841.115

The prices paid in the sales for Wilkie's drawings reflect clearly the current opinion of the artistic value of Wilkie's work both immediately after his death, and also twenty years later, when a very different type of art

was prevalent. It is interesting to note that the prices commanded by the early drawings were generally lower than the sums offered for drawings of Wilkie's later period. The highest prices for drawings connected with particular paintings were £5.10/- for The Rent Day 1807.4 (1807), 9 gns. for Reading the Will (1820), £12.1/6d for 1819.40 The Chelsea Pensioners (1822) £16.5/6d for one of the 1820.55 (supposedly unpopular) Spanish subjects (1828), 1828.5a 10 gns for Sir David Baird and £13.2/6d for Mary Queen of Scots. This appears to refute those nineteenth century critics who claimed that Wilkie's popularity waned after his visit to Spain in the mid eighteenth 1835.85 drawings from the same period, and of the same subjects.<sup>32</sup> 1833.71

It is true, however, that prices fetched in 1860 were lower than those of 1842. By that date a new phase of art was well established in Britain, and Wilkie had become to a certain extent "old fashioned".

Perhaps the most spectacular proof that Wilkie's late work was appreciated by the general public, and by dealers, is afforded by the records of the last three days of the 1842 sale, when a few oils by Wilkie, both complete and unfinished, commanded higher prices than paintings from his small collection of "Old Masters".<sup>33</sup> Many of his attributions may have been optimistic but he had had the opportunity in 1825 to 1827 to study Van Dyke at the Lomellini Palace and should have been able to recognise this master. One of his "Van Dykes"



was bought for a mere £47, and the highest sum paid for an "Old Master" (a much advertised "Correggio") was £157.10/-. On the other hand, Wilkie's own unfinished Knox and the Sacraments brought £189, a portrait of Queen Victoria fetched £120, The Tartar (a picture from the last journey) and The Letter Writer each went for £183, and the unfinished School a magnificent £756. Indeed, a finished drawing (lot 592, The Dragoman of Mr. Moore, Consul at Beyrout, his Daughter, and a Woman of Lebanon) commanded a higher price than any of Wilkie's 'Old Masters' apart from the 'Correggio'.

Less extravagant amounts were given for Wilkie's studio effects, and the contents of his small library, sold in the following month (May). His painting equipment seems to have been typical of any artist, with the usual collection of easels, stands, sitters' thrones, lamps, and four lay figures. Rather more unusual was his case of etching tools, and Hogarth's mahl-stick (a gift from Sir George Beaumont).<sup>34</sup> Compared with the sale of Rembrandt's studio effects at his bankruptcy, or with the studio furnishing of Sir William Allan,<sup>35</sup> Wilkie's studio seems to have been sparsely equipped with still life material, particularly with objects which could have been used for the early genre paintings. A few Highland weapons, "a Scotch pint, horn mill and instruments", and perhaps some casts of guns were the only indications of his interest in Scottish genre - for those subjects his drawings provided sufficient record. From the Spanish visit, however, accrued a larger collection of studio props, including Spanish

dresses, monks' robes, sandals, pieces of silk material, and a crozier. An Irish dress and materials would have been added in 1835 for "The Peep o'Day Boy" and "The Irish Whiskey Still". The most curious object was surely the cast of Napoleon's leg in a boot - how indicative this is of Wilkie's belief that the character of an individual could be revealed by careful and accurate reproduction of such elements of the body.<sup>36</sup>

The catalogue of this sale in May 1842 also provides a picture of Wilkie's taste in literature, though one suspects that the family had removed many volumes from his library before the contents were put up for sale. Interesting volumes listed in the catalogue include source books by Palomino and Ximenez, books on the techniques of painting, philosophical treatises, books on costume, informative travel books, volumes by friends such as Scott and Cunningham,<sup>37</sup> and a large collection of books of prints. A few novels and classics, fewer Reminiscences, Lives, and Rambles, no poetry except Scottish works (despite his association with Wordsworth), and no scientific textbooks except Blumenbach's Physiology are mentioned.

His large collection of engravings is more interesting. As one would expect, portraits of well known people formed a large section: Napoleon, Scott, Northcote, Byron, Peel, Lawrence, Charles I and Henry VIII were all represented, and were probably used for reference in his paintings. Other engravings after pictures by Ostade, Rembrandt, Teniers, Terburg, Raphael, Reynolds,

Stothard, Geikie, Leslie, Eastlake, Landseer and Constable suggest a rich source of ideas for his own paintings.

Wilkie's small collection of paintings was probably sold in its entirety at this time. His choice of masters is very illuminating, as are the copies of paintings, made as personal memoranda by him and mentioned in the catalogue. Many of these copies of Old Masters have been lost or misattributed, because they were usually unsigned; but those we have are of the first importance in establishing his methods of study. Again it is surely significant that Wilkie not only owned eleven portraits, but also copied thirty one - principally studies from Velasquez, Rembrandt, Rubens and Van Dyck.<sup>38</sup> Several landscapes form another group, comprising two drawings by Gainsborough, a painting by Sir George Beaumont, a Ruisdael, and a Zoffany portrait in a landscape.<sup>39</sup> What is at first sight surprising is the dearth of genre subjects and copies of Dutch masters. Wilkie owned a "Teniers" kitchen interior,<sup>40</sup> and records show he copied a Ferdinand Bol, a Cuyp and a De Hoogh, but few others are recorded. (The two "Watteaus" that he owned<sup>41</sup> a comedy scene from Molière and an outdoor musical party - must be considered an altogether more refined type of genre .) When one remembers, however, that Wilkie would not have had the resources to buy pictures until the later period of his life, when his interest was turning away from minor Northern European artists towards Rubens, this gap in his collection is not so surprising. He probably studied

eg.  
1827.39-42  
1840.13-15  
1834.5  
1827.9& 10  
1840.12  
1821.13a&b  
1840.18

his painting by "Rubens"<sup>42</sup> (a history subject) and his religious painting by "Correggio"<sup>43</sup> for their painterly technique and their composition, rather than for their subject matter, and this would probably also be true of the copies that he made from Titian<sup>44</sup> (three), Correggio<sup>45</sup>, Murillo<sup>46</sup> (four), Rembrandt<sup>47</sup>, Raphael<sup>48</sup>, and Paolo Veronese<sup>49</sup>. His most consistent interest in the work of another painter was clearly for Velasquez<sup>50</sup> - he owned four and copied eight. Once again, these were largely portraits.

To summarise, a comprehensive picture of the background to Wilkie's work can be gained from a study of the sale catalogues. His taste in books and pictures, his subject matter, media, and favourite type of drawing in each period of his life, and the contemporary public opinion of each of these phases, may be deduced from the information which they contain.

Other sources of information about Wilkie's drawings yield more limited returns. The biography by Cunningham contains many references to drawings culled from Wilkie's letters and journals. Further references can be found scattered through the many unpublished letters exchanged between Wilkie and his friends, such as the very interesting group addressed to the Rev. Perry Nursey in Little Bealings,<sup>51</sup> which were evidently not made available to Cunningham. Others were probably also withheld at the time, on the grounds, advanced by Maria Edgeworth, that they were personal communications not intended for publication, and that it would be a breach

of trust to give them wide circulation.<sup>52</sup>

Of course, the extant drawings themselves are of the greatest importance. These are now widely scattered, from Melbourne to New York, and it would be an impossible task to trace them all. There are major collections in the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Aberdeen Art Gallery, and the Henry E. Huntington Museum, California. Other smaller but significant groups exist in public collections in Nottingham and Birmingham; many other galleries have a few examples. Some of the most interesting examples from Wilkie's oeuvre are to be found in private collections, such as the male nude study which may in fact be a self portrait (1809), the detailed 1809.1 chalk drawing of hands for The Cut Finger (1808.18), and the extra illustrated volume of Raimbach's memoirs.<sup>53</sup> Art dealers often hold major Wilkie drawings, or photographs, and keep references to those which had passed through their hands.

An extremely important volume of drawings by Wilkie, which had remained in a branch of the Wilkie family for generations, was eventually broken up at Sotheby's in 1963, without an accurate record having been taken of the material which it contained.<sup>54</sup>

Several parts of this collection were traced to the Folio Society, and photographed, but most of the drawings which had been bought by dealers had been sold again, with no record kept of the buyers, before the start of the



research leading to the present catalogue. This is a great pity, for it is known that the contents included examples from the whole of Wilkie's working career, and they would therefore have helped to establish the characteristics of drawings from his formative period, when his quality was variable, and his style in the process of greatest change. Some of these early examples have survived, and can be traced,<sup>55</sup> and these allow one to accept certain relatively crude drawings as autograph which would otherwise be regarded with suspicion. A volume from the family collection is now with the National Gallery of Scotland. This scrapbook has had many drawings removed, but occasionally those which were cut out have been traced and, in one case, restored to the volume.<sup>56</sup> A further important collection of drawings in the Royal Academy Library was discovered during a perusal of the extra illustrated volumes of the Jupp catalogue of R.A. exhibitors.<sup>57</sup> The volume presented by Solomon Hart<sup>58</sup> is filled with sketches, apparently sent by Wilkie to his brother John and family in India,<sup>59</sup> to show them the pictures he was engaged upon. As John died in 1824, these drawings cover only the years between his departure (c. 1805) to India and his death.

From these various sources, a richly textured picture of Wilkie's oeuvre can be built up, and his development assessed in the confidence that no major area of his work is completely uncharted.

### CHAPTER 3

#### The development of the training of draughtsmen in Scotland in the eighteenth century.

The first formal training in drawing experienced by Wilkie was that given by John Graham of the Trustee Academy in Edinburgh, a training which had a profound effect on Wilkie's attitude to the purpose of art. When Graham became master the Trustee Academy served as the sole training ground in Scotland for all apprentices to trades requiring a skill in design, as well as medical students and those wishing for a training in the Fine Arts. The widely differing expectations of the drawing programme from its financiers on the one hand and its master on the other, reached a critical point at the end of the eighteenth century and culminated in fundamental changes in the curriculum of drawing at the Academy, just when Wilkie was entered on the lists as a student. It is therefore worth while considering the exact nature of this institution at this time.

When David Wilkie applied for admission to the Trustee Academy of Drawing in November 1799 it had only recently<sup>1</sup> been acknowledged by the founders that the type of training and education required by students intending to be history painters differed from that suitable for trainee house-painters or fabric designers.



In eighteenth-century Edinburgh painting of all categories was classed as a trade, not a profession: painters came under the direction of the Board of Trade for Fisheries, Manufacturies and Improvements in Scotland and belonged to the Edinburgh Incorporation of Trades<sup>2</sup> together with glaziers, masons and wrights, rather than forming a guild of their own like the goldsmiths. No standardised programme of drawing was established for any trade by the Board until 1760. Young artists either served an apprenticeship with a firm such as that of the Nories<sup>3</sup> in Edinburgh or they entered the studio of an established master on leaving school. Students who aspired to history painting deplored the lack of study facilities but it was only the fortunate with private patrons, like Alexander Runciman<sup>4</sup>, or those with personal fortunes, like William Aikman<sup>5</sup> of Cairny, who were able to separate themselves from the trade image and to travel abroad: in particular to Italy, where artists were provided with a gentleman's education and where Old Masters and the antique could be studied at first hand.<sup>6</sup>

The paramount importance of organised drawing facilities to students of art had been recognised in Edinburgh as early as 18th October 1729, with the Founding of the Edinburgh School of St. Luke.<sup>7</sup> The name of the School reflects the aim of its enthusiastic and educated founders to emulate Italian Academies, but its practise was of necessity very inferior, due to lack of resources and support. Students were to

draw from "a collection of drawings of the best masters",<sup>8</sup> from some antique models and, most importantly, from the figure - but only for six months of the year, four times a week at two hours a time.

This attempt to distinguish subject painters from the trades and to give them appropriate training in drawing (before or after working hours) had faded away by 1731, but one of the original founders, Richard Cooper, attempted to continue on his own with a "Winter Academy"<sup>9</sup> devoted principally to the copying of French prints. Cooper owned a good collection of engravings and some fine drawings by the Italian masters and he encouraged his own pupils to copy them as part of their basic training in order to improve their engraving technique. Robert Strange,<sup>10</sup> who was probably Cooper's most important pupil, made a gallant single-handed attempt to raise the level of artistic awareness in Scotland by visiting several of the great Continental collections and making careful engravings<sup>11</sup> of works by major Italian artists. His plan to circulate these prints throughout Scotland, and thereby to elevate the taste of patrons and artists alike from an inclination to rococo inconsequence or Dutch realism, unfortunately appears to have been partly thwarted by his countryman and rival Allan Ramsay.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, Ramsay was equally anxious about the lack of education and training available for Scottish artists; he maintained a studio in Edinburgh as well as in London, and found his assistants there much inferior in draughtsmanship.<sup>13</sup> Himself educated abroad, Ramsay attempted to use the Select

Society in Edinburgh (of which he was a founder member)<sup>14</sup> to open the subject of high art to discussion and later to put pressure on the Board of Trades for Fisheries, Manufacturies and Improvements in Scotland to establish a drawing school.

Before the Trustee Academy was founded in Edinburgh, however, a far more ambitious scheme was undertaken by the Foulis brothers in Glasgow. This first<sup>15</sup> serious and large scale Academy aimed from its inception (by 1753) to provide a comprehensive education programme, in the tradition of the best Continental seventeenth-century Academies, for aspiring young artists.<sup>16</sup> Drawing - from prints, from a representative collection of European masters, from casts and ultimately from life - was at the core of the syllabus.<sup>17</sup> A period of study abroad was deemed necessary and travel scholarships were provided. This splendid experiment eventually foundered because public opinion did not support the idea of an academy of art on this scale, and refused to provide the financial backing. "Of what use are the Fine Arts to Society?" asked the Right Honourable Lords of the Treasury when Robert Foulis asked for support in 1755.<sup>18</sup>

Very late in the day Foulis realised that he must publicly justify the existence of his training scheme on other than educational and moral grounds. He attempted to explain that skilled draughtsmanship was essential to the rendering of important national events for posterity and invaluable to the army and navy, and to every profession "where the knowledge of nature is illustrated by figures and objects". He also made much of the

greater proportional increase in the value of the finished article over the cost of raw materials in the case of a painting or drawing as opposed to any other manufactured article: "Thus a country which possesses excellent artists may draw in more wealth by the employment of a small number of artists than they can by much larger numbers of mere labourers".<sup>19</sup> Despite his energetic and ingenious attempt to justify the products of draughtsmen and painters, the Academy closed in 1773.

In Edinburgh in 1760, the Board of Trades decided that Scottish goods were liable to suffer when in competition on the open market with French goods of superior design. As Robert Foulis had said,<sup>20</sup> "All original patterns are inventions in drawing: that Country who is unprovided with artists capable of inventing and drawing patterns will have their principal people wearing the manufacture of foreign countries, for either their ornaments will be absurd or they will be copies of foreign patterns". For this purely practical, economic reason, the Board decided to set aside a tiny proportion of its annual profit to pay a master "For Teaching and promoting the Art of Drawing for the Use of the Manufactures especially the Drawing of Patterns for the Linen and Woollen Manufactures, a Sum not exceeding £115".<sup>21</sup> When compared with the sums spent on premiums for the encouragement of the growth of flax and hemp (£2956 in 1787),<sup>22</sup> the amount appears even smaller, reflecting the humble nature of the school and its utilitarian *raison d'etre*. As the French were considered superior draughtsmen, a Frenchman, expert in rococo design, a Mr De la Cour,<sup>22a</sup> was chosen as the first

master. In addition to his duties at the Board's public school, which was open gratis "to all persons that chuse to attend",<sup>23</sup> he was allowed to teach drawing as a polite accomplishment to girls of rank. De la Cour conducted the school successfully until his death in 1767, when he was succeeded as master by another French artist, Charles Pavillon.<sup>24</sup>

Later, eminent Scottish artists, rather than French decorative painters, held the position of Master of the Trustee Academy, as the steady stream of students sent by the Glasgow Foulis Academy to Rome returned fully trained to Scotland.<sup>25</sup> The influence of the Academy on Scottish art remained confined, however, to the commercial sphere. Alexander Runciman and David Allan might both have been expected to attract and develop students interested in becoming history painters while they held the post, but Runciman had the reputation of being a lazy master,<sup>26</sup> while David Allan complained that he, "like many others", was obliged to give up his own pursuit of history painting, begun in Rome, "for want of encouragement". "It is deplorable", he continued, "to think that Great Britain in general has not sooner begun to encourage their young ones in the study of History, the noblest part of painting".<sup>27</sup> The Board did, however, patronise Allan's genre works, buying twenty two copies of the 1788 Foulis edition of Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd illustrated by David Allan, at 1 guinea each.<sup>28</sup> Perhaps this was because the illustrations



were submitted as fabric designs - they certainly appeared as chintz designs.<sup>29</sup>

The emphasis on design was maintained by the Board, who continued to require annual examples from the masters. When Allan died in 1796, there were nine applicants for the post of master, most of them from Edinburgh and Glasgow, but two from London.<sup>30</sup> The Board asked Benjamin West, the President of the Royal Academy in London (founded in 1768) to give his opinion of the work presented for judging. West was in no doubt that John Graham's designs were much preferable to the rest, "having the pre-eminence in originality, composition, and sense in the choice of materials ..".<sup>31</sup> He placed John Wood next in merit. Romney<sup>32</sup> and Rigaud<sup>33</sup> wrote from London in support of Graham, and the Scottish collector, John McGowan,<sup>34</sup> together with other members of the Board's committee, were swayed by West's decided preference. Others, however, supported the local man, Wood, said by University and legal men in Edinburgh to be of good character and an able teacher.<sup>35</sup> In the event, the vote was equally divided, and the casting vote of the preces gave the post to Wood.<sup>36</sup>

Several influential patrons of the arts in Scotland, notably Sir William Forbes, continued to press the Board to appoint John Graham in some capacity; eventually, in February 1798, the Board decided after much discussion to open another Academy "for teaching the higher Branches of Design in Edinburgh".<sup>37</sup> John Wood retained the responsibility for the training of apprentices in the

Trades Academy and the new blood from London, John Graham, became master of the newly formed Academy.

The exact nature of this Academy then had to be established, for those who had urged its formation had been principally interested in persuading John Graham to come and work in Edinburgh. Sir William Forbes had emphasised<sup>38</sup> the benefit to be derived from the example of Graham's own productions and from his instruction as a private teacher outside Academy hours, if they could induce "that able artist to settle in Edinburgh". Indeed, "a School of Art might be founded much beyond anything hitherto attempted in Scotland". Forbes's earliest idea had been that Graham would be principally employed by the Board to instruct females: - teaching the numerous governesses to private families in Scotland a thorough knowledge of drawing in addition to teaching "Daughters of Tradesmen and Manufacturers" the essentials of drawing fundamental to "flowering of musline in Tamboring, Embroidering, & other works of Fancy".<sup>39</sup> This plan was dropped in favour of an Antique Academy.

After conferring with Graham, the Board's Secretary reported:

"It is well known that Drawing from Nature, or from the Antique Statues, or from both, is universally considered by those conversant with the Art, to be the only proper mode of obtaining correctness and truth in Drawing, and the only approved method of forming an artist; at least that Nature and statues ought to be much more copied than Pictures and Drawings. It is equally certain however that this mode of study has yet been scarcely practised in Scotland." (40)

This criticism could be applied not only to the teaching practice of earlier masters<sup>41</sup> of the Trustee Academy but



also to a major part of David Wilkie's own production when he was a schoolboy, for he had, for lack of better visual models, been very dependent upon readily available prints. Graham felt strongly that statues should be more copied than drawings, and extracted £50 from the Board for the purchase of "a small collection"<sup>42</sup> of casts of antique statues (including a Dancing Faun<sup>43</sup> and a Niobe<sup>44</sup>) with the promise of a further £50 when required. A respectable size of room of about 30 to 40 feet long and 12 to 15 feet high was decided upon for the twenty students who would be studying there for eight or nine months of the year. A suggestion that Graham could give lessons of one hour first to the males and then the females enrolled in his Academy was nipped firmly in the bud by Graham who declared that one hour was too little for a lesson in drawing.

It was agreed that Graham should have the power of admission and rejection to his Academy - a different arrangement from the open nature of the earlier Trustee Academies, where initial ability was not tested. Admission was by either submission of a drawing from the antique or by a satisfactory recommendation and a six week trial period of drawing under the eye of the master, after which a decision would be reached.<sup>45</sup> Although this procedure was confirmed in the minutes of the Board for 12th December 1798, when David Wilkie applied for admission in November 1799 at the age of fourteen, he seems to have misunderstood and to have gone first to the Secretary, George Thompson, with a portfolio and a letter of introduction from the Earl

of Leven. The drawings moreover were not from the antique, but of a house and a tree from life. Cunningham avers that Thomson considered these untalented, and that he interfered with Graham's autonomy in running the Academy by refusing Wilkie admission. This story was later refuted by Thomson<sup>46</sup>; Wilkie was certainly accepted as a probationer on applying in the correct manner to the Board.<sup>47</sup> He was, in fact, exactly the type of applicant envisaged by the Board when it drew up its minutes<sup>48</sup> - having never been taught to draw, he could not be expected to show what were his abilities until given a trial.

Further problems arose at the time of Wilkie's admission from the dishonourable conduct of the master of the Trades Academy, John Wood. It transpired that the drawings which he had submitted in the competition for the mastership were not entirely his own,<sup>49</sup> and in March 1800, three months after Wilkie enrolled at Graham's Academy, Wood was dismissed, the two Academies were re-united and Graham was obliged to teach apprentices to the trades and manufacturies.<sup>50</sup> The dichotomy of interests between the artisans and the history painters was exacerbated on the one hand by the introduction of oil painting to the syllabus by Graham - which seemed inappropriate to the glass cutters and damask weavers<sup>51</sup> - and on the other by the requirement of the Board that students and master should produce designs for the manufacturies - which raised great hostility among students of painting. John Burnet, one of Wilkie's fellow students, described<sup>52</sup> how Graham succeeded in persuading

students to produce designs in order that the Academy might continue, but the bad feeling remained for years.

The small amount of money allowed for the Trustee Academy did not permit an ambitious programme; there was, for instance, no drawing from the nude figure until 1827, nor, apparently,<sup>53</sup> were there any lay figures for demonstration purposes. There were no outside lecturers on anatomy or perspective; John Graham had to do all aspects of teaching himself. It was not until the Board provided casts of the Elgin marbles in 1817, the last year of Graham's mastership, and granted evening access to the Academy, that students felt themselves to be "nearly on a footing with those of any metropolis in Europe".<sup>54</sup>

<sup>55</sup>  
Graham's letter to Wilkie's father at the conclusion of Wilkie's studies in 1804 shows that Graham took a personal interest in the welfare of his students, and tried to instil moral standards - believing with Robert Foulis that "the end of education is to make good men" and that "a painter can never reach the sublime unless his heart is filled with noble sentiments and his imagination stored and refined by beautiful images".<sup>56</sup> It must be admitted, however, that the educational facilities of the Trustee Academy were extremely limited, and it is doubtful whether the devoted teaching of Graham with the small but absolutely secure financial backing of the Trustee Academy was as much advantage to its students as the high ideas and richer teaching programme were to the students of the financially insecure and shorter lived Foulis Academy. Because its aims were so obviously related to

the economic advantage of the entire Scottish community, the Trustee Academy had a more sympathetic public reception in Edinburgh than the Foulis Academy had in Glasgow. Perhaps the principal cause of this goodwill was its independent financing from the plentiful surplus funds of the Board of Trades. Such small sums allowed to defray the costs of the Academy could offend no one, for since pupils were usually already apprenticed to a trade (see Note 57) their living expenses did not come within the responsibility of the Academy. As the master's post changed hands from the initial decorative designers to more and more successful and established subject painters, however, the Academy was able to change its character, albeit slowly, carrying public opinion imperceptibly with it to increase the interest in history painting throughout Scotland.

Despite the many frustrations experienced by Graham in his Academy, the teaching of drawing in Scotland had developed measurably during Wilkie's boyhood. On April 12th 1806 the artist, collector and teacher, George Walker<sup>57</sup> was able to say:

"It is twenty five years since Mr. Runciman sent me my first pupil. At that time there were only two other persons excepting my worthy old master who gave lessons in drawing, the number of whose pupils did not exceed a dozen and whose productions if any of them are preserved could, if now examined, afford but little pleasure to our more refined taste in works of art. There are at present in Edinburgh about thirty persons of both sexes who give instruction in the various branches dependent on design ... several promising artists who will attain to a high degree of excellence in their various walks in the Art. Reckoning that each of those have nearly thirty pupils the aggregate gives nine hundred." 58

## CHAPTER 2

1787 - 1871

James Watson's early life and education

### Early Influences

Sir David Watson was born on November 18th, 1785, in the country parish of Dalry, Fife, the son of the local minister. The first fourteen years of his life were spent in this small Scottish village, with little opportunity for study and no access to the great advantages of a cultured background, and whatever may

### SECTION I

"The Scottish History abounds in most interesting subjects and the artists of the present day seem disposed to avail themselves of it."

Writer in The British Mercury I

1787, p.156.



## CHAPTER 4

1785 - 1805:

### Juvenilia and the first formative period

#### Early Influences

Sir David Wilkie was born on November 18th, 1785, in the country parish of Cults, Fife, the third son of the local minister. The first fourteen years of his life were spent in this small Scottish village, with little opportunity during his boyhood to form his taste by studying works of art. He had, however, the great advantage of a cultured background,<sup>1</sup> and whatever may be true of the reports that he was an indifferent scholar as a child, his father's own intellectual pursuits,<sup>2</sup> and the atmosphere of study prevalent in a manse, cannot but have been advantageous. That he was allowed to draw on the walls of the manse nursery is in itself indicative of an unusually relaxed domestic atmosphere, conducive to experiment and self-expression. His parents were evidently proud of his early achievements, since it is known that the drawings were not obliterated until after his father's death.<sup>3</sup>

Wilkie denied any early strong sense of vocation, but had a good eye for portraiture and could readily capture a likeness at an early age. Some of his sketches of schoolfellows were preserved and prized by

the sitters<sup>4</sup> and were probably in the same style as the small black lead drawing (possibly of Thomas Wilkie) in the family scrapbook (1799.3), and the later watercolour of James Jardine (1801.1) in the National Portrait Gallery. Both are extremely hard linear drawings. Very few of the early drawings survive, partly because Wilkie ordered that some of his juvenilia should be destroyed when Mrs. Wilkie and his sister, Helen, moved to London.<sup>5</sup> Cunningham speaks (in 1842) of the survival of an early sketchbook (1797.1 to 1797.20.), now lost, into which Wilkie transcribed his most successful drawings from a little book he carried with him.<sup>6</sup> The little watercolour at Cults (1796.1) can probably be identified with the drawing mentioned by Cunningham as one of the earliest extant sketches done when "Wilkie was little more than eleven",<sup>7</sup> but it is in so immature a hand that it is impossible to recognise traits of Wilkie's later style. Wilkie himself was obviously aware, at this stage, of the need to train his hand to obey his eye, for Miss Sinclair<sup>8</sup> quotes him as having copied again and again a circulated print of a Highland soldier, until his drawing was a correct facsimile (1797.21).

These schoolboy efforts do not survive, but three drawings roughly contemporary with each other are to be dated between circa 1799 to 1802, for they begin to show the results of study in a more consistent style. The first two drawings are taken from two separate literary sources, which have very similar themes. The choice of such subjects may reflect Wilkie's own ideas about art



and nature. Paul and Virginia (1799.1) is taken from the Romantic novel of 1788 set in Mauritius<sup>9</sup>. The hero and heroine are reared in an idyllic pastoral setting, until a rich Parisian aunt uproots Virginia in order to give her all the sophisticated acquirements of urban civilisation. Realising the value of unspoiled nature, Virginia attempts to return, but is drowned within sight of home and Paul when her ship is wrecked (perhaps 1799.2: A Shipwreck). The Gentle Shepherd by Allan Ramsay, which was written much earlier in circa 1713, again extols the moral value of the simple rural life in contrast to that of the city. Again the nobility of character possessed by the hero Patie and heroine Peggy is shaped by an upbringing of simplicity and direct contact with nature.

Paul and Virginia, a finished although crude oval pen and watercolour drawing, shows the lovers with neoclassical profiles and in classical costume, and is probably based on a print. The second watercolour, of Sir William Worthy as Speyman: A scene from the Gentle Shepherd (1802.1)<sup>10</sup> is not directly copied from a print, but is very closely related to the designs by David Allan published as illustrations to the 1788 Foulis Press edition of Allan Ramsay's Gentle Shepherd. By the time Wilkie was a student at the Trustee Academy he had his own copy of this edition, and the first major recognisable influence on Wilkie's figure style was the attenuation of form in David Allan's prints.

The variety and richness of Allan's subject matter proved a longer lasting influence, and in many cases Wilkie based his own compositions closely upon Allan's prototypes, intending, for example, to produce his own series of illustrations to the Gentle Shepherd at the very end of his life. He returned to his early drawing of Sir William Worthy years afterwards, when working on the Fortune Teller compositions (1813. 34 ) and (1813.1 ) for elements such as the boy on the right hitting a barking dog with his highland bonnet.<sup>11</sup> Wilkie certainly surpassed Allan in achievement, but constantly saw his own work in relation to Allan's Scottish subject matter, especially in his illustrations to Scottish poetry,<sup>12</sup> and perhaps also his drawings for Mary Queen of Scots.<sup>13</sup>

Through these widely known ballad illustrations<sup>14</sup> Allan became the major influence on Scottish art at the turn of the nineteenth century. This makes the correct identification of works by his followers very difficult, particularly in the case of immature drawings from the hands of Walter Weir,<sup>15</sup> Alexander Carse,<sup>16</sup> and David Wilkie. Recently a gouache drawing in the National Gallery of Scotland, previously classed as a Weir, has been reattributed to Wilkie on grounds of subject and style<sup>17</sup> (1802. 3). Evidently depicting a scene from Douglas and the Hermit, a subject painted by Wilkie in 1803, it shows the same elongated figures with small features in the same linear, unmodelled style as is found in the composition from the Gentle Shepherd.

A further member of this group of works influenced

by Allan is the signed early oil painting (discovered some years ago in a junk shop, now in a private collection) of Scottish Itinerants, some dancing and others following a bagpiper over a bridge. It has the same stylistic features, the tartan hat, and the tapering feet<sup>18</sup> which are found in the watercolours of 1802 (plate 10b).

It is noteworthy that both literary and Scottish genre subjects are found among the extant drawings, but most of the works listed by Cunningham from this period are of scenes from the imagination, from life, or from prints.

#### The Trustee Academy

If the drawings of the house and tree which Wilkie presented to the Secretary, George Thomson, Secretary to the Trustee Academy, were similar to these early extant drawings, Cunningham was generous in calling them "well imagined, well chosen and well considered things" and was less biased in his assessment of them as being "executed in a way unseemly and rough",<sup>19</sup> showing little promise. The training which Wilkie received between 1799 and 1804 at the Trustee Academy introduced him to a totally different type of art from anything he had experienced hitherto, and was the first systematic formative influence upon his drawing style. Like most students of painting in Scotland at that time he had copied from other drawings, paintings and prints because they were readily available, but had not the opportunity of drawing from antique statues.

Sir William Allan,<sup>20</sup> a fellow student with Wilkie at the Trustee Academy in the early days of Graham's appointment, recalled that the first exercise set for the students was to copy a set of outlines of eyes and noses before they qualified to draw from the few casts of antique statues in the collection of the Academy.<sup>21</sup> This emphasis upon the importance of correct outline from the very outset of an artist's training is a characteristic of all academies,<sup>22</sup> but perhaps reached its zenith in the theories of Winckelmann and the practice of Mengs, where outline was imbued with the moral qualities of purity, clarity and the essence of form.<sup>23</sup> The drawing from the antique, (1805.4), from the family collection,<sup>24</sup> was probably made at the Academy in London rather than in Edinburgh<sup>25</sup>, but it illustrates the sort of exercise which the students were set. Drawing in outline is a rigorous mental discipline, for a grasp of the relationship of all the major and minor forms one to another must be carried in the mind and expressed in the varying weight of the continuous line. The instability of Wilkie's figure, with its sinuous and heavy outline, over-long legs and dislocated shoulder, indicates the problem grappled with in this period of training. Compared with this example, Wilkie's drawing from the Dancing Faun, for admission to the Trustee Academy, is more than competent in general effect (1799.7). Although the hatching technique is very laboured and the proportions uncertain, the stony qualities of the curls in the faun's head and his rippling muscles are realistically rendered, and, for a boy of fourteen, the balanced handling of forms is at least able. Indeed, in spite of the

from casts of fragments of antique statues.

corrections,<sup>26</sup> the drawing style is more mature than the rounded and childish writing of the inscription on the sheet.

During Wilkie's period of study at the Trustee Academy small prizes were awarded annually for the best oil paintings, the subjects to be taken from history or poetry.<sup>27</sup> Wilkie was selected to compete with Burnet and Thomson,<sup>28</sup> and the subject was to be taken from "Macbeth". It seems that Wilkie toyed with the idea of painting the scene of Macbeth with the witches, for drawings of three witches are known (1801. 2, 3, & 4); however, Burnet had selected this subject, and eventually Wilkie chose the scene of Macduff's Castle, with Lady Macduff defending her little son from the murderers.<sup>29</sup> No drawings exist for this composition, but fortunately among those preserved in the Wilkie family collection has survived a sketch for Diana and Calisto (1803. 1) (Wilkie's successful entry for the subsequent competition held in 1803) in which classical accoutrements of putti and dramatic gestures are mixed with stocky figures and uninspired drawing.<sup>30</sup> Wilkie's artistic training during these years was firmly based on the importance of accurate copying, and a belief in the essential nature of good draughtsmanship to a painter was inculcated from the beginning. His fellow student, John Burnet, felt it was still true that "in that sort of drawing on which taste and knowledge are united, he (Wilkie) was far behind others, who, without a tithe of his talent stood in the same class";<sup>31</sup> however, Wilkie applied himself with great seriousness. As an early part of his training, he was required to draw from casts of fragments of antique statues.



He felt it necessary to know the identity and nature of the statue of which each fragment was a part, in order to imbue his drawing with "the action" and "the sentiment" which characterised the whole figure.<sup>31a</sup>

This pre-occupation with expression no doubt reflects a traditional academic grounding in the theories of and Lebrun. Wilkie had become acquainted with Charles Bell<sup>32</sup> whose lectures he was later to attend in London,<sup>33</sup> and whose theories of expression exerted a profound influence on him; indeed there is a strong tradition that Wilkie<sup>34</sup> provided one of the illustrations to Bell's Anatomy of Expression published in 1806—perhaps (1805. 18): Heads of a laughing girl and crying boy were early ideas for this project.<sup>35</sup> Although Bell's essays on expression were not published until Wilkie had left the academy, Bell's brother, George Joseph Bell,<sup>36</sup> testifies that they were originally composed while the brothers were students and while Charles Bell was under the influence of David Allan.<sup>37</sup> Wilkie would therefore have had the opportunity to hear of Bell's ideas while studying at the Trustee Academy.<sup>38</sup>

Bell taught that mental states of emotion or passion cause the whole frame of a person to react sympathetically; that a study of anatomy was therefore an essential to painters as "an examination of that structure by which the mind expresses emotion", teaching the student to observe nature minutely and to "catch expressions so evanescent that they must escape him, did he not know their sources".<sup>39</sup> The reflection of the state of mind of a figure would be



visible even in the hands and feet; it was therefore essential that any good artist should develop his ability in careful rendering of extremities: "In natural action there is a consent and symmetry in every part".<sup>40</sup> This attitude to figure drawing served Wilkie throughout his working life, as the many careful drawings of hands show. It is also a striking characteristic of the teaching of John Graham, whose methods of instruction have been briefly recorded by John Burnet<sup>41</sup> and William Godwin.<sup>42</sup> He urged Wilkie to draw from his own hands and feet, lest figures in his paintings became mannered. This perceptive warning is brought forcibly to mind when looking at drawings by Wilkie made at times when his studies from life had been neglected, particularly in 1813,<sup>43</sup> 1824,<sup>44</sup> and the late 1830's.<sup>45</sup> While at the Trustee Academy, however, Wilkie heeded this advice, as Cunningham testifies, and as a painting of Wilkie in his lodgings sketching his own foot demonstrates.<sup>46</sup>

Fellow students were also influenced by Graham's rigorous correction of faulty draughtsmanship and his emphasis on the careful drawing of extremities.<sup>47</sup> Both William Allan and, later, Thomas Duncan produced drawings of hands that can be classed among their best efforts.<sup>48</sup>

Drawing from oneself was only accepted by Bell with reservations. He deplored the practice of artists who attempted to gain an understanding of the anatomy of expression by drawing themselves grimacing into a mirror - a favourite practice of seventeenth-century artists, more recently employed by Reynolds in his Self Portrait as

a Figure of Horror (Plate 467)).

Graham also warned Wilkie against over-reliance on himself as a model, and reminded him of the importance of having an appropriate model before him while painting.<sup>49</sup>

Bell also insisted that just as antique statues were inappropriate models on which to base images of modern heroes,<sup>50</sup> so the working class models normally employed by art academies were quite unsuited as the basis for figures in heroic subjects, due to their characteristic overdeveloped musculature.<sup>51</sup> Following this line of thought probably led Wilkie to apply his training in the principles of high art to genre subjects from low life, to which the models available were admirably suited. This trend towards genre subjects was accentuated by the influences which pressed on him outside Academy hours, especially through the work of other artists which was available in and around Edinburgh for his inspection and private study.

Rouquet had complained that British collections were "more considerable for their number than their excellence"<sup>52</sup> but Reynolds believed that an eager student could learn from very inferior models.<sup>53</sup> Wilkie's studies in Edinburgh<sup>53a</sup> show this to be true.

Wilkie had known the portraiture of David Martin<sup>54</sup> while a boy and had probably had access to the Earl of Crawford's collection, which at that time included two paintings of Dutch kitchens, a "finely painted" beggar, a De Witt landscape, and a Candlelight piece by Shalcken.<sup>55</sup> These would probably have interested Wilkie more than the copy of Ruben's Our Saviour and the

Pharisee. Although Wilkie probably had the opportunity to visit the collections at New Hall<sup>56</sup> and Penicuik House,<sup>57</sup> his only reference to the High art of Runciman's Ossian ceiling<sup>58</sup> leaves us in doubt as to whether he saw it and, if he did, whether he admired this type of Scottish history subject. Much more accessible than private country houses, however, were the public auction rooms in Edinburgh, where Wilkie was a frequent visitor, showing particular interest in prints by Rembrandt and Ostade.<sup>59</sup> He was also known<sup>60</sup> to have visited, or at least had access to, drawings and prints in the collections of John McGowan,<sup>61</sup> George Walker,<sup>62</sup> and David Geddes the father of Wilkie's friend Andrew Geddes;<sup>63</sup> these excelled in their fine prints from Dutch seventeenth century masters, although there were some fine drawings from other schools.<sup>64</sup>

Wilkie was familiar with the etchings which David Deuchar<sup>65</sup> was producing,<sup>66</sup> not only direct copies of Dutch masters but also Scottish scenes based on compositions by Ostade (such as his etching of Scottish peasants arranged in a landscape of Dutch appearance but with Salisbury Crags and St. Giles in the background). Deuchar must have consolidated the Dutch influence already prevailing in Wilkie's work by demonstrating how the seventeenth-century masters might be used as the basis for such compositions<sup>67</sup> of Scottish subjects.

Most significantly, Wilkie devoted much study to the work of David Allan, who had already expounded a philosophy of art<sup>68</sup> closely related to that of Charles Bell, and to which Wilkie was therefore sympathetic. Bell

quotes from Allan's preface to the Gentle Shepherd, in his own Introduction to the Anatomy of Expression.

In this passage, Allan, lamenting the want of living models and deploring the deficient taste of patrons in Scotland, advocates the study from nature which, combined with study from ancient models and casts from the Greek statues, may "produce compositions, which though not as striking as the sublimer efforts of the pencil, are yet capable both of pleasing and instructing to a very high degree".<sup>69</sup>

By the time that he left the Trustee Academy, Wilkie had established a considerable reputation as a genre painter among his fellow students. In this context, John Graham's final commendation was significant. After praising Wilkie's moral character and willingness to learn, Graham compared Wilkie's taste to that of Correggio and added that he should be "capable of carrying through the most elevated and elegant part of his art, perhaps with as much success as in those subjects from which he has merited so much praise".<sup>70</sup> It is clear that although Graham appreciated Wilkie's achievements in genre, he wished to encourage him to attempt to develop as a historical painter.

Wilkie returned home to Cults in 1804. Finding no taste for High art and no commissions for historic subjects in the elevated manner, he was obliged to turn his hand to teaching<sup>71</sup> and portraiture; even here he found business slack, for most commissions in Scotland went to Raeburn.<sup>72</sup> Wilkie attempted to model his portrait style on that of Raeburn, as can be seen in the portrait of Mr. Aitken of Thornton (Plate 113D.b) and the double portrait of

but could not make a full living in spite of scouring all Fife for commissions. With time hanging on his hands Wilkie occupied himself with the preparation of a complex subject picture.

Pitlessie Fair, and its preparatory drawings, demonstrate Wilkie's attainments as a draughtsman and painter at the end of his first formative period, and throw light on his method of working at this time. Cunningham states that Wilkie had settled on the subject by Summer 1804, for in August he wrote "I have now fairly begun the Country Fair",<sup>73</sup> and was painting from nature for the picture. A comparison of the present state of the houses and main street of Pitlessie (1977) with the large sketch of the village in the National Gallery of Scotland (1804 . 3 ) shows that Wilkie had first made an accurate<sup>74</sup> drawing of the area, to the extent of noting the nature of building materials used for most of the walls and roofs.<sup>75</sup> A tree study (1804 . 1 . ) may also be related to the right hand side of the background of the composition.<sup>76</sup> It does not show much feeling for plant form in its scribbled treatment of foliage; it is one of the earliest indications that Wilkie thought of different types of subject in a hierarchy, each requiring a separate type of study, and that landscape was not an area to which he had devoted much study. Both of these drawings for the background to Pitlessie Fair show Wilkie's pernicious habit of studying background and figures separately - a practice that was to cause him great



trouble in later paintings when he attempted to unite the two elements.<sup>77</sup> For Pitlessie Fair Wilkie apparently executed a large drawing of the entire composition (lot 160 in the B.G. Windus's sale of 1842) and a further sheet of studies in the National Gallery of Scotland (1804.17,18) shows interesting, but not accomplished, sketches from life of various figures and cattle. The problems faced by Wilkie in finding models from which to paint, and his relief at the acquisition of a lay figure, are fully recorded in Cunningham.<sup>78</sup> An opportunity to sketch portraits from life presented itself each Sunday, when, from the minister's pew in the village church, Wilkie could sketch the congregation into the fly leaves of his Bible. This Bible still survives in the National Library of Scotland (1804. 6 - 15 ) and contains one of the most detailed extant portrait drawings from the formative period (1804. 11)

- easily the most accomplished study of this group in its technique and treatment, and almost Flemish in its delicacy of handling and the variety of textures which he represents.<sup>79</sup> If any one drawing could establish Wilkie's reputation as a draughtsman in these early years this must surely be the one. It captures the pose characteristic of almost complete relaxation, while the drooping eyelids and corners of the mouth, and the nodding head of the dozing figure are admirably individualistic. Most of the other sketches (with the exception of 1804.9 and 1804. 15 ), employ outline rather than tone and are more summary, as one would expect from people outside the family circle, and therefore not so readily available to sit for protracted periods after the service. The fluency of style with which Wilkie was later able to



capture characters in brief sketches had clearly not been acquired by this stage.

Wilkie completed this painting, with its many figures, within a year, and without the aid of such exhaustive methods as he was to employ in his later scene of festivity, The Village Festival of 1811 (see Chap. 5). "People of all ranks" called to see his painting,<sup>80</sup> which achieved considerable local fame; nevertheless, his hopes of receiving commissions for further works of this type proved unfounded. It became clear to Wilkie that, in the existing climate of Scottish patronage, he would achieve neither fame nor a reasonable livelihood.

Looking back on his early years in Scotland, Wilkie later remarked that "the opportunity of seeing what others are pleased with, together with the stimulation of rival success, were both denied me...my native district, where the impressions of early years were formed...contained no work of established fame to which I had admission."<sup>81</sup> It has been shown that this statement was only partially true with regard to local collections; it was equally disingenuous in respect of rivals. Pitlessie Fair itself has frequently been remarked on as an enhanced version of Alexander Carse's Oldhamstock's Fair.<sup>82</sup> Carse was an older man than Wilkie, and had decided to remain in Scotland, illustrating Scottish literature and poetry, and painting genre subjects. His subsequent career exemplifies the poor prospects facing a home-trained Scottish artist at this time; he failed

to gain the Master's post at the Trustee Academy on John Graham's death in 1817, the much-travelled Andrew Wilson being appointed. An even more serious financial setback occurred in 1821 when Carse's work was criticised in the press and two eminent patrons withdrew their valuable commissions on reading the report, "although both pictures were in progress".<sup>83</sup> Carse was almost broken by this single example of an adverse published criticism, for Scottish patronage was evidently very timid and easily swayed even at this late stage. He was obliged to "finish a few pictures and dispose of them by a lottery" in order to eke out a precarious living.<sup>84</sup> The weakness which Wilkie discovered in his Scottish models, Carse and Allan,<sup>85</sup> was feeble draughtsmanship and, in spite of their vernacular subjects, a lack of detailed study from life. At this stage Wilkie himself was very variable as a draughtsman; much of his work appears laboured, while his sketches in hard pencil were often uninspired.

It became clear to Wilkie that, if he would achieve the success which had evaded Carse and Allan in Scotland, he must strengthen his own technique, even though it was already superior to that of his Scottish contemporaries, by a period of further study. Accordingly, he gathered his resources, and on the twentieth of May, 1805, aged nineteen years and six months, Wilkie sailed from Leith - to become "one of that continuous stream of Scotsmen who, ever since the Union, have gravitated to London to occupy high positions there".<sup>86</sup>

## CHAPTER 5

1805 - 1811:

### Wilkie in London - his first success

Shortly after his arrival in London, Wilkie enrolled in the Schools of the Royal Academy as a probationer;<sup>1</sup> he found himself in the company of Haydon and Constable who, although representing the opposite poles of classicism and naturalism, both formed lifelong friendships with Wilkie<sup>2</sup>. After completing three months of study from the antique as a probationer, Wilkie was required by the Academy regulations to present a successful drawing of an anatomical figure, with the muscles marked and numbered, and of an antique statue.<sup>3</sup> Neither of these studies by Wilkie seems to have survived, but they were clearly considered adequate, as by December 1805 Wilkie had been admitted as a full student of the Royal Academy.<sup>4</sup> This entitled him to attend classes in Perspective and lectures in Anatomy (from Charles Bell) and painting, but a further three months' study from the antique was required before he was allowed to draw from life models.

Already, Wilkie had found himself in grave financial difficulties, since the sum of money which he had brought with him was insufficient to maintain him in London for more than a few months.<sup>5</sup> He found it hard

to support himself by painting, although he managed to sell some of his Scottish subjects for a few pounds each.<sup>6</sup> The cheerfulness which characterised early letters to members of his family<sup>7</sup> soon gave way to anxiety, and the fear that he would be "obliged to return to Scotland by the end of October [1805] and fall to [his] old trade".<sup>8</sup> He had some hopes of portrait commissions in London, through the good offices of a distant relative, the piano-maker William Stodart<sup>9</sup>, but felt that this was a menial branch of art. His earliest letter from London to McDonald<sup>10</sup> expresses distinct reservations about portraiture and a decided preference for the accurate observation of Moreland's low life subjects and the correct outline in the "wonderful works" of Benjamin West<sup>11</sup> - Graham's benefactor.<sup>12</sup> Later Wilkie was to regret even these portraits which provided him with the means of subsistence, for he found that a prospective patron had drawn back from offering a commission for a subject picture simply because Wilkie had acquired a name for competence in another branch of painting.<sup>13</sup> While Wilkie could not afford to be too fastidious about how he earned his bread in 1805 he never wasted his time on hack work if he could avoid the necessity. In desperation he had entered into a contract with Mr. Warren, engraver, to make detailed drawings of the series of paintings by Barry<sup>14</sup> which illustrated The Progress of Human Culture. Permission was granted by the Society of Arts in 1806<sup>15</sup> for Wilkie and Geddes to take copies of these paintings in the Adelphi Rooms, but at this point two

major commissions for subject pictures<sup>16</sup> enabled Wilkie to break his contract,<sup>17</sup> apparently before any drawings for the project were prepared.<sup>18</sup>

An account of these difficult times, when Wilkie constantly had recourse to borrowing from his father and friends in Fife in order to remain at all in London; when all the pressures of ill health and family wishes were against his remaining long so far from home; when patronage had yet to bear fruit, and when his finished paintings were selling for as little as six pounds, can be found in Cunningham's biography.<sup>19</sup> These circumstances have a direct bearing upon the drawings of Wilkie, for they taught him in an unforgettable way that Art is not encouraged for the love of art but for wordly uses,<sup>20</sup> and therefore that it was of the very first importance to study and to serve public taste in order to survive. This explains too why Wilkie applied himself so rigorously to perfecting all aspects of his work (an application which continued long after he had repaid his debts), and why he stocked up with commissions for years to come.

The first stroke of good fortune experienced by Wilkie in London was his introduction, in January 1806, to Lord Mansfield, who commissioned a picture<sup>21</sup>. Shortly afterwards, through the generosity of his friend and fellow student, John Jackson,<sup>22</sup> Wilkie was introduced to Sir George Beaumont, who was to be of inestimable help to him in the furthering of his career.<sup>23</sup> Through him, Wilkie's circle of noble patrons was extended, and he gained access to some of the most important private



collections of paintings in London<sup>24</sup> - a facility which enabled him to develop his taste from the simple appreciation of Dutch genre. Of even greater educational importance to Wilkie were the introductions by Sir George to many notable figures in the literary and artistic world - among these friends of the baronet was William Wordsworth.<sup>25</sup>

It is interesting to read that Wordsworth found Wilkie uneducated, and lacking literary and poetic qualities,<sup>26</sup> while at this stage Wilkie was quite out of sympathy with Wordsworth's aims and intentions as expressed in the Preface to the Lyrical Ballads.<sup>27</sup> Both, however, were agreed in repudiating any conventions which acted as a barrier to communication - Wordsworth's belief that poets should employ the language really used by men<sup>28</sup> finds an echo in Wilkie's view that art must bear the true impress of nature.<sup>29</sup> The explicit realism in much of Wilkie's painting, and his constant use of studies from life, are evidence of his search for an easily comprehensible artistic language.

Drawings for pictures in this period demonstrate an increasing power over a limited range of media. Not a great deal has survived compared with that of later periods, but sufficient references to drawings are made in Cunningham and the sale catalogues to permit one to form a fairly convincing and clear picture of Wilkie's methods of preparation for paintings at this time. There is little evidence in the existing drawings that at this stage Wilkie thought of making drawings for their own



sake. Everything is a study (1805.2 ), a visual record (1810.10 ), or a working drawing (1809.11) Wilkie is known to have studied diligently at the Academy, as entries in the Wilkie sale catalogues and in Cunningham show; the nude in the Victoria and Albert Museum (1808.36) is obviously such a study, while the nude dated 1809 (1809.1 ) is probably a drawing through a mirror using himself as a model. A comparison of these two drawings shows Wilkie trying to overcome the deficiencies in anatomical knowledge evident in his outline drawing from the antique (1805.4 ) and to remain aware of the warnings of Charles Bell.<sup>30</sup> The tensed muscles of the Academy study illustrate Bell's observation that "when the Academy figure first strips himself, there is a symmetry and accordance in all the limbs; but when screwed up into a posture, they indicate constraint and want of balance."<sup>31</sup> The 1809 drawing (which may be a first idea for the slumped pose of the drunk man beside the trough at the right of the Village Festival composition) shows Wilkie trying to capture a natural attitude rather than a posture. As all available areas of free space on the paper have been filled with sketches from life or for other compositions, it is evident that Wilkie had no feeling for the intrinsic worth of his nude as a work of art in itself, but regarded it purely as working material, on a par with the other scratchings and rudimentary ideas on the sheet. His ideas for paintings and his studies from the model were continually interacting.<sup>32</sup>

After the success of the exhibition of his Village

Politicians at the Royal Academy in 1806,<sup>33</sup> Wilkie found himself inundated with commissions.<sup>34</sup> Between 1806 and 1811 he produced several portraits and a series of quite tiny<sup>35</sup> paintings, each consisting of a main group of a few figures set in a humble interior, very much in the manner of the Dutch seventeenth century painters. Many of these subjects were taken from literature or from drama, and at least two were painted quickly as illustrations to short stories or essays in literary magazines. Raimbach tells us that The New Coat (c.1806) illustrated a scene from Voltaire and The Clubbists, painted for Leigh Hunt (c.1806), illustrated an episode from Goldsmith; both were published in 1807.<sup>36</sup> The simplicity of the compositions increased over the years rather than diminished, a greater burden of the interest of the picture being placed on the variety of pose and expression in the figures; and on the verisimilitude of detail and handling of draperies and still life objects. It was not so necessary in this type of subject for Wilkie to do many preparatory drawings; most parts were painted on to the final canvas with reference to the living model or actual object.<sup>37</sup> Indeed for a few paintings (for example The New Coat) no drawings are either recorded or known to exist.

For the subject of The Darty Bairn,<sup>38</sup> however, three sketches are recorded in the Windus Sale catalogue. These include one of the earliest recorded pen and ink sketches (1806 . 14 ), as well as a finished study in chalk, perhaps for the whole subject (1806 . 15 ). It seems

that for Sir George Beaumont's larger and more complex picture, The Blind Fiddler, Wilkie took more pains. Several sketches are listed in the catalogues. They were probably of the same kind as those now in the Mellon and Oppé collections (1806. 2 ), (1806. 4 ) - principally attempts to capture an action rather than a posture, or details of arms and heads. Raimbach writes that the figure of the fiddler was faithfully studied from a well-known mendicant who fiddled quite well, and was therefore ideal as a model.<sup>39</sup> These are crude working drawings, showing very little feeling for the expressive possibilities of pencil, in spite of his sensitivity to expression in the models themselves. The same is true of the 1807 drawing for Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage (1806. 7 ), which manages to communicate a certain intensity despite the fact that it is hardly a piece of accomplished draughtsmanship.

Wilkie's painting of Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage (painted in 1807 to form part of a series of pictures from the History of England commissioned by Alexander Davidson)<sup>40</sup> was his sole attempt at history painting during his early years in London. During this period Constable affirmed that Wilkie was deeply influenced by his friend, B.R. Haydon.<sup>41</sup> Haydon's uncompromising attitude to art, which prevented him from treating any but the noblest themes in his own work, was the antithesis of Wilkie's efforts to trim his sails to the wind of contemporary taste. His frequent criticisms of Wilkie's appreciation of the ludicrous,<sup>42</sup> rather than of the sublime may have stimulated

(or goaded) Wilkie into a particularly great effort, while painting his Alfred burning the cakes, for he seems to have attempted to include the most complex and varied set of expressions in the picture. This ambitious canvas (3'7" x 5'1") caused Wilkie problems of both subject and scale, and involved a great deal of preparatory work. Cunningham says that he drew the figures singly, then grouped them and modelled the whole scene in clay in order to study effects of light and shade in the composition.<sup>42a</sup> The subject was a very difficult one, for it involved the portrayal of disguise and concealed emotion. Bell had discussed the problem of dissimulation in his Anatomy of Expression, claiming that, in a person experiencing stress, unusual pallor would be a clear indication of his emotion, even when voice and muscles remained under control.<sup>43</sup> Wilkie seems to have taken this observation as a challenge, but to have lost confidence in himself as a history painter when Sir George Beaumont, (whose advice acted as a counter influence to that of Haydon), criticised Alfred's expression as insipid.<sup>44</sup> For some time Wilkie felt diffident about history subjects, only half persuaded that his talents were more suited to genre,<sup>45</sup> but refusing at least one commission on the grounds that "a particular line of study" was necessary for the portrayal of historical subjects.<sup>46</sup> He turned instead to perfecting the type of genre work which had first brought him success.

There are many careful drawings for pictures of this period which show Wilkie's increasing competence as a draughtsman; several of them are studies of hands,

eg 1805.2a-d  
1806.4  
1806.6

usually on rough, buff paper, including a series for The Rent Day (1807-9). In the small hand clutching drapery (1807. 18 ) - a study for the elder girl in the centre of The Rent Day<sup>47</sup> - the three dimensional qualities of the fingers are carefully delineated, and their structure (in addition to their exact pose) is minutely recorded. In the complex finished painting, the size of the hand for which this is a study is considerably reduced (the dimensions of the entire multi-figured panel measure only 1'11" x 2'11") but despite this reduction Wilkie tried to retain all the minutiae of the drawing, in order to produce a painting which contained as much detail as those of the popular seventeenth-century Dutch painter, Gerard Dou.

These drawings are interesting primarily for what they reveal about Wilkie's method of working; surviving drawings for his next major work, The Cut Finger<sup>48</sup> of 1809, are very different. They are executed on a large scale, and much more highly finished; several are so skilfully and attractively drawn that they rise well above the level of working studies (1808. 18 ), (1808. 25 ). Executed in chalk on coloured paper, they not only achieve a three dimensional quality lacking in most of the drawings previously mentioned, but have an economy, spontaneity and variety of touch which can surely be attributed to the medium employed. Chalk was nearly always a more readily responsive medium than pencil in Wilkie's hands. The analysis of the anatomical form in the hands (1808. 26 and the careful description of facial muscles in the drawing



of the heads of the old lady (1808. 25 ) and the crying boy (1808. 19<sup>19</sup> ) must also in part derive from Wilkie's association and friendship with Charles Bell.<sup>49</sup>

Looking at the extant evidence, one must conclude that, although in his less complex works Wilkie did not rely upon preparatory drawings (in some cases he lifted entire groups out of his picture of Pitlessie Fair as ready-made subjects for small pictures),<sup>50</sup> in the case of compositions involving many figures (such as The Blind Fiddler, Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage, and The Rent Day) he became increasingly aware of the value of finished preparatory studies. As a natural consequence of this method of working from drawings, his draughtsmanship developed, and this is reflected in the improved proportions of figures in his painting as well as in the drawings. His continued study from life during this period must have increased his knowledge of the articulation of the human body; indeed William Allan apparently thought sufficiently highly of an Academic study by Wilkie to add it to his collection.<sup>51</sup>

The most extraordinary painting of this period, when Wilkie was struggling to attain the highest academic honours, and to establish his position in the London art world, was surely The Alehouse Door, or The Village Festival. Referred to by Wilkie as his "large picture", and by Sir George Beaumont (in a letter to Wilkie) as "the work of your heart",<sup>52</sup> this painting, conceived before 3rd August, 1808, and not completed until after July 1811, cost Wilkie more thought and effort than any other of



the period. Painted at a venture,<sup>53</sup> it was larger than any picture which he had previously executed (excepting only Alfred in the Neatherd's Cottage),<sup>54</sup> and contained many more figures than any since Pitlessie Fair, prompting Calcott to warn Wilkie against "getting too much subject" into his picture.<sup>55</sup> The domestic subject matter of village merrymaking, or a country fair, is reminiscent of countless Dutch versions of the same theme, such as Jan Steen's Fair which Wilkie had recently seen.<sup>56</sup> Wilkie's debt to Dutch seventeenth-century genre in this case goes further than a choice of theme, for the composition of several interrelated groups of small scale figures is clearly derived from Dutch examples. Cunningham may well be right when he claims that Wilkie "wished to measure himself with Teniers and Ostade"<sup>57</sup> by developing the purely Scottish idea of Pitlessie Fair - he certainly borrowed Ridley Coburn's Ostade<sup>58</sup> while working on The Village Festival, and studied the Dutch masters in London collections during this period.<sup>59</sup>

Wilkie's method of working during the production of this picture marks a striking departure from that which he had followed in his earliest complex compositions. Cunningham's first record of the picture is an entry from Wilkie's Journal for August 3rd, 1808 - "Indisposed. To amuse myself, began to make a blot of the Public House Door, the subject I intend to paint next".<sup>60</sup> On the following day he wrote: "Began to paint again at the sketch I began last night".<sup>61</sup> Nothing more about the

painting is recorded in Cunningham until March 1809; during the interim, Wilkie began his painting of The Cut Finger, and struggled on with his "task" - the extremely troublesome group of the Neave family"<sup>62</sup> The journal entry for March 22nd 1809 again refers to painting on "the sketch", as do all relevant subsequent entries from May 13th onwards. By September 29th, Wilkie began work on the final canvas; he "prepared colours; chalked it out on the canvas by dotting the picture and the sketch into several compartments.... Rubbed in all the shadows, and got in the principal group."<sup>63</sup>

This suggests that Wilkie temporarily abandoned his usual method of making preparatory drawings for the entire composition, and for principal groups, when he was considering The Village Festival. For such a complex composition, on so large a scale, and including so many figures, it would seem obvious that elaborate preparatory drawings would have been essential in order to ensure the successful integration of the many elements into a unified whole. For The Cut Finger, The Clubbists, The Card eg 1805.19 Players and The Rent Day, Wilkie had made at least one fully developed drawing of the subject; the entries in Cunningham suggest, however, that he did not work in this way for The Village Festival, but started immediately on a detailed oil sketch for the picture, deliberately using it as his main frame of reference for the finished painting.

When one considers the known drawings this impression is confirmed. No drawing exists of the complete composition. The first reference to drawings for the

painting dates from March 1809, when Cunningham records that Wilkie had "commenced collecting material for this fine picture".<sup>64</sup> The three tiny pencil compositions in the National Gallery of Scotland (1809. 22a, 1809. 22b, 1809. 22c ) are the only definitely identified studies for the setting, although it is possible that the interesting drawing of the back of a large building (1810. 16 ) could be a study of the public house in Paddington to which Wilkie refers in his Journal on May 14 1809.<sup>65</sup> The dearth of preliminary figure studies is equally notable.

Expression and character were Wilkie's principal concerns, yet no drawings for individual heads exist. Even minor studies like A slight drawing of the back of a figure, with alterations in her right arm and hand (1809. 17) and those for the group round the Innkeeper's wife in the shady porch (1809. 10 , 1809. 11 ) date, like the still life details, from a period when the final canvas was well under way. There seems to have been no systematic study of several heads and figures in groups, such as those mentioned in The Rent Day ( 1807. 14 ) ( 1807. 17 ). Wilkie's method in this case was to paint figures directly from life<sup>66</sup> onto the final canvas, using actor friends such as John Liston<sup>67</sup> for the figures with the most difficult expressions.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, he used different models for the head, neck, hands, arms, hair and smock of figures in the picture,<sup>69</sup> an eclectic procedure approved by Bell and hallowed by the example of Zeuxis,<sup>70</sup> but employed here on an unsuitably complicated subject.

During the protracted execution of the picture

using this costly method,<sup>71</sup> Wilkie continually found that he "could not at all succeed" with a figure, and had to rub it out and try again, often "with no better fortune".<sup>72</sup> He found, for instance, that the head of the negro had turned out to be too large, a problem which he had already encountered in the figure of Liston holding the bottle: "I am afraid the head I have painted from Liston is too large", he records regretfully in his Journal, "and the figure altogether too thick: the hand holding the bottle is certainly too large, and the bottle itself too small". [Journal 3rd November 1809].<sup>73</sup> He tried to remedy these faults in a drawing made later in the month (1809. 21 ), but this failure to relate the scale of parts which have been separately considered is a very common difficulty, particularly when working on such small figures: with Wilkie's method of attempting to jigsaw together such tiny areas separately focussed it must have been a daunting task. It is clear that several crucial decisions as to the arrangement and scale of figures had not been made before Wilkie started on the final canvas. These were problems which he had grown accustomed to tackling in his preparatory drawings, eg 1807.2-18 and the omission of such drawings in this case clearly led to enormous difficulties in the execution of such a complex picture.

Eventually, with the final canvas already in a partially finished state, Wilkie was obliged to make "some sketches on paper" for the picture<sup>74</sup> in an attempt to sort out compositional difficulties. The pen drawing

in the Tate Gallery (1810. 24 ) is probably such a working sketch, and appears to be related to the problems encountered by Wilkie on October 18th, 1809, when, having perceived that his "centre group did not unite naturally enough with the rest", he had to "make a new arrangement".<sup>75</sup> The drawing is principally concerned with the seated figure between the landlord and the principal group. Turning back from the table, he beckons to the main figure, who is being persuaded to come home by his family on the one hand, and to return to the bottle by his companions on the other. The glances of several in the central group are directed towards him, thus forging an additional link with the left hand group in the picture. This seated toper, and the extreme left hand figure in the principal group, with whom he overlaps, are also united by a strong band of shadow cast by the building in the background. In character, this pen sketch is brisk and fresh, with a concentration on tone, gesture and expression rather than on minute detail. The fluid quality of pen, and the rapidity and ease with which ideas can be set down and altered, makes it an ideal medium for such compositional sketches.

As late as 1810, Wilkie was still attempting to 1810.24  
remedy major problems of composition by trying alternatives  
in pen and ink;<sup>75a</sup> despite his efforts the finished work  
suffers from a lack of unity. Detail is not subordinated  
to general effect, and it seems valid to attribute these  
disintegrating tendencies to the lack of sufficient  
organisation of the varied elements in the composition



into a coherent whole, by means of preparatory compositional drawings. Wilkie was aware that an increase in detail was no substitute for a unified tonal effect in his works - he criticised Bird's painting in the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1810 for lacking this very quality<sup>76</sup> - yet he seemed torn in two directions when one considers his remark about Heaphy's<sup>77</sup> drawing:

"[His industry] is beyond all example. When I think on the number of highly finished objects which he has in these pictures of his, and compare them with what I myself have done in the same time, my labour seems idleness. I must exert myself more".

The somewhat feverish undertone in these remarks shows that Wilkie was being forced (against his natural instinct) by public taste for minutiae in paintings, and by the example of such colleagues as Heaphy and Mulready, to crowd yet more detail into an already over-elaborate picture.<sup>78</sup>

Some of his most precise and analytical drawings belong to this period. Wilkie fell ill in June 1810, probably as a consequence of the humiliation connected with his picture of The Wardrobe Ransacked<sup>79</sup> and his prolonged struggle with The Village Festival. He was lent the Hampstead home of his friend, Joanna Baillie<sup>80</sup> and her sister, while they were away during the Autumn. While convalescing there, Wilkie made a group of small still life and foliage studies, some of which he used to fill out areas around figure groups in The Village Festival, linking the different elements of his composition by means of carefully placed baskets or pots. The drawings of trees and foliage (1810. 6-45) dated in



this period do not appear in the picture, unless one can recognise in (1810. 12 ) the germ for the idea of the poplar in the right background, or the creeper to the right of the porch in the Fitzwilliam study of ivy (1810. 6 ). These studies are pre-Raphaelite in their intensity of vision and delicacy of handling, characteristics which are evident to a degree not found again in Wilkie's drawing. Two of those most acutely observed studies are (1810. 2) and 1810.5 ). In the first Wilkie concentrates on the different textures of wicker in two baskets, one coarse and open, the other close-textured and finely woven. Even more extraordinary in its devotion to detail is the pencil drawing of a tiny piece of brick wall, which considers the varying thicknesses of each band of mortar, and the irregularities of individual bricks. These drawings show Wilkie at the end of his formative phase an acute observer of nature, in full command of the lead medium and speedily learning to master the handling of pen. When his foliage studies 1810.6-15 of 1810 are compared with his lead pencil drawing of a lane and tree of circa 1804 his increased manual 1804.1 dexterity and powers of perception are easily recognised. His ability to interpret moods of nature was still deficient, but his power of accurate recording was immeasurably improved.

The Village Festival itself reflects this quality of precise observation. It must be regarded as a major attempt by Wilkie to recapture the interest of the public, and to re-establish his pre-eminence in genre painting of

high quality among British competitors. The fact that J.J. Angerstein<sup>81</sup> was sufficiently impressed with the picture to pay 800 guineas for it, testifies that Wilkie achieved his aim.<sup>82</sup>

## SECTION II

"... I am ambitious to make my art subservient to such an object as that of illustrating the connections that subsist between His Majesty and his ancient Kingdom."

David Wilkie, July 23rd 1823,  
on his appointment as painter  
to the King in Scotland.

(B.U.L. Man. Pa. II 213)

## SECTION II

".... I am ambitious to make my art subservient to such an object as that of illustrating the connections that subsist between His Majesty and his Ancient Kingdom."

David Wilkie, July 23rd 1823,  
on his appointment as Limner  
to the King in Scotland.

(E.U.L. Mss. La. II 313)

## CHAPTER 6

1812 - 1818:

### Contacts with Scottish culture

The outstanding success of Wilkie's Village

Politicians and Blind Fiddler was marked with interest by fellow Scots in Edinburgh, who had either heard of Wilkie's subjects or had seen them themselves. Wilkie's

correspondence grew to include the most original and important writers and artists of the early nineteenth century in Scotland, laying the foundations of friendships which, growing over the years, provided Wilkie with a most fruitful source of ideas for his Scottish themes.

John Burnet and Thomas Macdonald, two of Wilkie's old friends from the Trustee Academy, were among the first to respond directly to Wilkie's success by leaving Scotland to settle in London. Both men benefited professionally from Wilkie's popularity, basing their own careers on his; Thomas Macdonald became Wilkie's frame-maker and odd-job man,<sup>1</sup> while John Burnet made advantageous arrangements with Wilkie to engrave several of his early paintings.<sup>2</sup> Raeburn and Andrew Geddes remained lifelong friends of Wilkie; until his death in 1823, Raeburn kept in touch with Wilkie,<sup>3</sup> and Geddes had the occasional commission arranged by Wilkie, such as the portrait of Chalmers (which Wilkie himself could not arrange to do).<sup>4</sup> Thomas Chalmers

had known Wilkie when the former was at the neighbouring parish of Kilmany.<sup>5</sup> He married a friend of Wilkie's,<sup>6</sup> and continued corresponding with him for many years. His early career as a writer was assisted by Wilkie, who spent a considerable time trying to persuade London publishers to accept some of Chalmers' manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> They responded as the printsellers did to Wilkie's own prints: they were unwilling to risk publishing an unknown author. Chalmers remained Wilkie's closest link with the Scottish church.

George Thomson, secretary to the Trustee Academy, had seen Wilkie's painting of the Blind Fiddler while on a visit to his brother David in London.<sup>8</sup> He had been so deeply impressed that, in 1807, he ordered a work to illustrate his collection of bowdlerised Scottish songs from Burns, Ramsay and Campbell. Although Wilkie did not carry out the commission in time for inclusion in the publication, regular contact with Thomson kept him in touch with the contemporary literary world in Scotland.

One of the contributors to Thomson's miscellany was the Scottish writer Joanna Baillie, who, by the time Wilkie had met her, had published the first two volumes of her Plays on the Passions.<sup>9</sup> These traced "the smallest indication of an unquiet mind, the restless eye, the muttering lip, the half-checked exclamation and the hasty start".<sup>10</sup> Wilkie knew her well enough by 1810 to stay at her home; her works had been strongly recommended to Wilkie by his friend and mentor, Sir

George Beaumont.<sup>11</sup> Wilkie must have been struck by the analogy between her observations of states of mind, discussed in the Discourse which introduced her Plays, and his own views on expression, derived from the lectures of Bell. She remained a friend of Wilkie's throughout his life, and her Metrical Legends<sup>12</sup> provided him with ideas for Scottish subjects as late as 1834.<sup>13</sup> 1834.35-46

Joanna Baillie was also a friend and collaborator of Scott, and it was during this period that Wilkie met the Scottish writer who was most to influence him. Scott himself recorded his admiration for Wilkie's unique ability to portray convincing rural domestic settings in The Antiquary.<sup>14 15</sup> A less widely acclaimed author, John Galt, immediately recognised<sup>16</sup> in The Village Politicians and The Blind Fiddler an attempt to record the passing character of Scotland's rural population, rather than merely to entertain with scenes of "the amenity of humble life, dashed with a proper proportion of comic pleasantry".<sup>17</sup>

All these new friends, in one way or another, fed Wilkie with specifically Scottish ideas, so that although he remained in exile, he was not as out of touch with the culture and life of Scots as has often been supposed. Thomas Macdonald and David Thomson both shared his interest in Scots' fiddling<sup>18</sup> and the poetry of Burns; Chalmers writings kept his own presbyterian theology at the forefront of his mind; Joanna Baillie reinforced his interest in character; and Galt and



Scott shared his concern with the recording of fast-disappearing national characteristics. (Wilkie's constant awareness of his own Scottish descent is well recorded.<sup>19</sup> He played an active role in the social life of the "Scottish Colony" in London, as is evidenced by a letter of 1816,<sup>20</sup> recording his sale of tickets for a Scots dinner, and his strong pressure for the institution of an annual Burns' festival.

### Taste and Compromise

Wilkie had achieved additional fame with his Village Festival, but at great cost. He had, however, learned the importance of preparatory work, and his drawings for The Rat Catchers<sup>21</sup> (1811.11ff), a picture much simpler in structure, include compositional sketches for figures within settings. Wilkie would not again become caught in the trap of painting and repainting everything from life.

What he should work on next gave him some concern. His own taste was developing rapidly, due to the opportunities to study examples of works of the Italian and French schools in private collections.<sup>22</sup> He was particularly interested in Watteau, spending entire visits to Dulwich in examination of the Bal Champêtre<sup>23</sup> - a picture revered by his friend Constable. This study bore immediate fruit in his next elaborate picture, Blind Man's Bluff (1813). Although he used

a detailed and realistic setting, drawn especially for the purpose while at Pitlessie Mill (1811.16), Wilkie attempted in the drawings for this work, as in the painting, to move on to a broader treatment, and a richer, more unified tone than had been characteristic of his work. But the public would not allow him to abandon detailed handling. Sir George Beaumont, in particular, urged him to keep to the simplicity of his early style.<sup>24</sup> Other critics found the figures slight, and unrelated to life; indeed, there is some justice in this view, as several vague drawings (1812.2 - 5) suggest that Wilkie used a lay figure as a model when working on this picture. Wilkie had leapt ahead of public taste at this point, for Watteau was not much admired<sup>25</sup> - a very curious situation, when one considers the careful life-studies from which his paintings are composed.

Wilkie was obliged, therefore, to recall the relevance of national taste to his own productions. This taste was set by the Prince Regent (who had, in fact, commissioned Wilkie's Blind Man's Bluff), and it was encouraged by Wilkie's friend Seguier, George's adviser. The Athenaeum, in 1829, criticised "a fatal predilection for specimens of Dutch excellence in the first patron in the realm". Wilkie, therefore, attempted to combine his interest in tone with the minute handling which his patrons required. His Letter of Introduction<sup>26</sup> is a masterpiece of this type. It is based principally on the lines of a composition by Terborg, of The

Messenger, modified by reference to the Stafford Collection.<sup>27</sup>

The drawings (1813. 5-15) study the same sort of psychological inter-relationships between two people which interested Joanna Baillie,<sup>27a</sup> and which were recorded by John Galt.<sup>27b</sup>

The painting itself is developed in a remarkable rich harmony of buffs and silvers.

For the painting of The Breakfast he again visited the collection of the Earl of Stafford, who had commissioned the picture. On this occasion he was interested in the general tonality of the seventeenth-century Dutch masters beside which his own work was to hang, rather than in the detail of any particular picture. The Breakfast is a concentrated study of the minutiae of expressions. Wilkie himself says in a letter:<sup>28</sup>

"The subject is a family at breakfast. It has no story in it, but as it contains a great number of objects that look very pleasing upon canvas, and as the family are supposed to be in good circumstances it affords me the means of conveying an idea in the Picture of the most complete English comfort".

This is an interesting reflection of Galt's view that no story is necessary in a piece of social history.<sup>29</sup>

Inter-relationships between person and person provide the focus of interest in the picture.

This type of subject no longer satisfied Wilkie, who felt his powers increasing, and wanted to try more significant subjects. He attempted quite a large painting of Bathsheba in this period; however, his most significant venture was Distraint for Rent (1815).<sup>30</sup> In this dramatic scene of social injustice, Wilkie took Hogarth as his guide in portraying the extremes of human emotion. He had already expressed great admiration for Hogarth during his early days in London;<sup>31</sup> Sir George Beaumont

had encouraged Wilkie to compare himself with his master by presenting him with Hogarth's mahl-stick.<sup>31a</sup> Wilkie's first overt modern moral subject was a great success, and was purchased by a public body (the British Institution). The realisation, however, that such social comment might make his patrons (who come from the oppressors' class) withdraw their support and encouragement from the author of such subversive work, caused Wilkie to look for a way in which to secure his income.

The reversion to Dutch detail of handling had caused a recurrence of Wilkie's financial problems. He had abandoned the idea of producing "pot boiler" subject paintings, "declining entirely" to overload himself with commissions.<sup>32</sup> One solution would have been to paint more portraits, or to take a pupil; a more congenial solution was to again follow Hogarth, this time into the field of engraving.

#### The influence of engraving

Sir George Beaumont had warned Wilkie of the pitfalls involved in having his works engraved.<sup>33</sup> He pointed out that Wilkie's reputation, depending as it did upon his ability to render precisely facial expression and posture, could be irreparably damaged by the circulation of poor prints. Wilkie noted this advice, but instead of refusing to have his works engraved he tried to ensure that the prints that were issued were of the highest quality.

Although John Burnet had engraved some of his earliest works, he turned to Abraham Raimbach as an expert draughtsman<sup>34</sup> for the engraving of many of the works of this period. Wilkie's letters and journals are full of references to his concern with prints, the sale of which came to form his main source of livelihood. He even took pains to arrange personally for their distribution among print sellers; Haydon gives a vivid account of Wilkie's hawking his prints around Paris in 1814.<sup>35</sup> He clearly thought highly of them, since he used them as presentation gifts.<sup>36</sup> His letters to Macdonald about Peter Cox's Broken China Jar show how carefully he went over the proofs, correcting with chalk and showing special anxiety about the face:

"I touched with chalk the face of the woman, if he [Warren] can attend to it the small alterations will be of great service. He had made the mouth a little too far from the nose, but this he says he can still rectify".<sup>37</sup>

He quickly realised that the method used by engravers was an essentially linear one, and that tonal paintings did not translate readily into the medium of engraving. The engraver's drawing of The Gipsy Mother (11.36a) shows the problems involved in such a transposition. Wilkie's picture was painted in a day, quite broadly;<sup>38</sup> the drawing for the plate had to interpret all its areas in terms of lines. It was then marked out into compartments one sixteenth of an inch square (from the back, using a sharp tool), and the lines transcribed from drawing to plate square by square.

Even before Wilkie took up etching himself (c. 1814)<sup>39</sup>,



in order to fully understand the process of printing, he had adapted his drawing style in response to the needs of the engraver. This response is illustrated by two extremely finished drawings in pen and ink (1812.2) and (1812.3). The close cross-hatching, the little trail of dots used to link light and shaded areas, and the short strokes varying in direction to indicate a change of plane, all reveal the influence of an engraving technique. There are no washes of tone - the technique is instead strictly linear, and he uses a greater number of strokes placed closely together to indicate such closely shadowed areas as the deep recesses of the fireplace. The forms of the figures are completely bounded by continuous outline, sometimes with no modelling at all. Where simplified modelling occurs in the limbs of the figure, some variety is introduced by the use of curved strokes to indicate bulging muscles in action.

This precise, linear technique enabled Wilkie to record exact information about settings which he had not time to paint from life, and to which he could not constantly refer; it is illustrated in its most extreme form in the drawing of Pitlessie Mill (1811.16). From about 1814 to 1824, Wilkie himself made a series of etchings,<sup>40</sup> and it is during this period that drawings handled in this precise manner occur (1819.9), (1820.37), (1822.23).

enlarge the range of settings he could command for his subject pictures.<sup>42</sup> Despite this attitude, he reveals a natural aptitude for capturing out-of-door effects. As early as 1810, his Mountain Ash (1810.11) shows a feeling for the atmospheric qualities of light, as



### Further developments in draughtsmanship

It would give a false impression to imply that all the drawings of this period were contrived, and all the paintings linear in treatment. Both drawings (1815.10-17) and oil sketch for The Rabbit on the Wall (1816) show Wilkie emulating Shalcken and the Tenebrists in a candlelight scene. He had adopted the practice of painting by candlelight, in order to achieve effects of rich tone, from his earliest days in London,<sup>41</sup> and had been as diligent a student of chiaroscuro as his friend Constable (who probably influenced him). The Clubbists (1805.19), for example, explores the effect of a silhouetted figure seen from the back, obscuring the source of light. Chalk drawings (e.g. 1813.7) also show a greater subtlety of tone at this time.

The most interpretative non-figural drawings of this period are his landscapes; also to this period belongs his major landscape painting, Sheepwashing (1816). Wilkie's landscape work was stimulated by his association with Beaumont, Collins, Constable and Turner, yet in style it is much closer to the straightforward recordings of states of weather by Mulready, now in the Whitworth Gallery. Wilkie admitted that his venture into landscape was rather in the nature of an exercise, undertaken in order to enlarge the range of settings he could command for his subject pictures.<sup>42</sup> Despite this attitude, he reveals a natural aptitude for capturing out-of-door effects. As early as 1810, his Mountain Ash (1810.11) shows a feeling for the atmospheric qualities of light. on

brown paper, in pencil, it is very delicately drawn, and gives the impression of being suffused with light. Some of the leaves are massed darkly against the source of illumination, others being fully lit and the forms of the thinly spaced ones being dissolved. Wilkie had access to Beaumont's collection of paintings, which contained Claude's Hagar and the Angel,<sup>43</sup> displaying the same effect; it is highly likely that this influenced him.

Studies of the Kirk and Manse at Culter (1811.3&4) taken while on holiday there in 1811, are of the greatest interest. They were made to be sent out to his brother, John, in India, as records of the family home. To remind his brother of the Scottish climate in the turgid heat of India, Wilkie has chosen to render Culter on a windy day threatening rain. Half the space is devoted to the sky, where he has introduced the most atmospheric treatment of clouds ever seen in his work. The first (1811.4) shows simple cumulus clouds, but the second (1811.3) shows a storm threatening. It demonstrates an appreciation of weather effects and a knowledge of the nature of clouds which recalls the work of Constable.<sup>44</sup>

Wilkie's later group of landscape drawings, made in 1817, are more accomplished, but less atmospheric. That in the Ashmolean (1817.21) is rather heavy, and reflects Wilkie's unfamiliarity with watercolour technique; that in the Bedford Art Gallery (1817.22) is much fresher, and captures the gently swelling forms of the

Cults landscape, the long, low buildings hugging the natural curves of the terrain. The chalk drawings made the previous year in Holland (1816.6 & 25) are more spontaneous, although Wilkie falls naturally into the seventeenth century formula of landscape composition with a closed foreground and a vista at one side (1816.25a). The chalk study of trees for the Chelsea Pensioners (1819.56a), from about the same time, shows Wilkie moving away from the particular towards the general, and, like the painting of Sheepwashing itself, depicts rather feathery, unconvincing and insubstantial trees. Wilkie's interest in landscape remained peripheral and the breadth of handling was to develop in his figure studies rather than in his landscapes.

Already in 1809 Wilkie recognised the authority of Rubens in landscape painting.<sup>45</sup> On his trip to Paris in 1814, he was struck by the Rubens series of history paintings in the Luxembourg Palace. When he returned to Europe in 1816, he made a special effort to study Rubens in Antwerp. From this date, a profound influence of Rubens on Wilkie's figure style can be traced through his drawings - an influence already reflected in the drawings for his next major picture, The Penny Wedding.

### The Penny Wedding

On 12th May 1807, John Galt had written to Wilkie,<sup>46</sup> expressing admiration for his recent work and enclosing

copies of two of his (then unpublished) poems. One of these was The Penny Wedding. Two months later Wilkie received the commission from George Thomson for "a picture, in your best manner, either from Duncan Gray, or Muirland Willy".<sup>47</sup> Thomson made it clear that what he wanted was a wedding scene - indeed, he sets out in detail what the size and format of the picture should be:

"The bride and bridegroom, the bride's maid and her sweetheart, and the convivial old folks might be seated in the foreground, and behind them the dancing grouper and the fiddlers might appear.... I trust that the size of the picture will not be less than that of the Fiddler, which I saw and so much admired in your lodgings".

This could well be a description of David Allen's famous Penny Wedding, already copied by Deuchar, and accepted as the definitive image of such an occasion. Wilkie did not supply a picture in time for Thomson; Stodart instead provided a picture which was engraved to accompany Thomson's collection of poems. The composition of Stodart's picture follows closely the lines laid down by Thomson, and was, no doubt, "charmingly painted";<sup>47a</sup> Wilkie, in his own later treatment of the subject, was, however, aiming at something much more monumental.

David Allan's series of drawings of Scottish customs provides one of the most interesting visual records of the habits of rural Scots in the eighteenth century, but he concentrates on quirks of custom and humorous anecdote. Wilkie aimed to show how the more deeply seated convictions of the Scottish people were embodied in their practices. This contrast is epitomised in the comparison of the groups at table in the two pictures.

In the Allan (Pl. 1817.30), all is clamour and feasting; in the Wilkie (1817.30), an unselfconscious grace is being pronounced over an orderly table, in the midst of musicians and dancers.

While Wilkie was a student at the Trustee Academy, John Graham had recognised that his subjects were "national", and had later written to Wilkie to encourage him not to sink into a mannered way of depicting them.<sup>48</sup> Wilkie found support for this advice in the lectures of Sir Charles Bell, in which he warned all students to take care to consider "the changed frame of society", for, "if the arts of design bear no relation to that which has the greatest influence on mankind; if they stand related neither to religion, nor to the records of history, nor to the progress of empire, - they must be ever, as a dead language, associated with ancient times".<sup>49</sup> Sir George Beaumont had warned Wilkie against going out of his line of genre painting,<sup>50</sup> but, on being presented with Haydon's overdramatised Macbeth, had been moved into an unwary support of "plain good history" as subject matter for painting.<sup>51</sup>

Even as late as 1818, however, Wilkie felt unprepared to paint historical or biographical incidents. The writings of Sir Walter Scott, and the piece sent to him by John Galt, seem to have changed his mind. They reminded him that he had direct, intimate experience of the social life and history of a circumscribed rural locality - Pitlessie. To the framework of the lyrical pastorals of Allan Ramsay, with their emphasis on the moral



value of the simple life, Wilkie could thus add the intuitive and detailed knowledge of Fife. Some of the detail had been contributed by Wilkie's father, as parish minister, to the national record in the Statistical Account, published in 1792.<sup>52</sup> It is interesting to note that the bald account of the life of the parish contains the claim that the healthy nature of life in rural Fife was borne out by a comparison of statistics of mortality in the parish of Kettle with the corresponding figures for England.

Wilkie's aims in painting The Penny Wedding must have been very close to those which Scott had recently set out in his "postscript which should have been a preface" to Waverley:

"... for the purpose of preserving some idea of the ancient manners of which I have witnessed the almost total extinction. I have embodied in imaginary scenes, and ascribed to fictitious characters, a part of the incidents which I then received from those who were authors in them. Indeed, the most romantic parts of this narrative have a foundation in fact".<sup>53</sup>

Wilkie's Penny Wedding is just such an interpretation of history. Supported by the psychological penetration of Galt, and the vernacular of Scott, Wilkie had fine literary justification for treating the Penny Wedding as a visual chronicle of rustic manners in the late eighteenth century.

In the same spirit in which Galt approached the writing of his major work, The Entail, in 1822, by revisiting Scotland for three months specifically to add to his "vernacular vocabulary",<sup>54</sup> Wilkie spent two months in Scotland in the autumn of 1817 with the purpose of gathering material for The Penny Wedding.<sup>55</sup>



He also collected additional material, which provided the groundwork for other pictures of a similar character (such as The Scottish Whisky Still). The drawings he made include some interesting interiors (1817.13&19), and some of the landscapes already mentioned (1817.21&22). These are careful national records, like Galt's studies of the vernacular and Scott's records of ancient manners, even more careful than David Allan's studies for the characters in The Gentle Shepherd.

Christopher North said of Galt's Annals of the Parish that it was "not a book, but a fact";<sup>56</sup> Wilkie's composition is cleverly contrived to give a similar illusion of the straightforward depiction of reality. But the difference between Allan's interpretation of the Penny Wedding and that of Wilkie lay in more than a study and knowledge of rural life: it depended on Wilkie's increased appreciation of the monumental forms and compositions of Rubens. In the composition of the Penny Wedding he employs Ruben's practice of composing with predominantly rounded female forms, with great success, and even in his fine drawings from life (1817.45) he shows the influence of Rubens' eg 1817.45 chalk drawing style.

Looking back on his own work, in his Remarks on Painting in 1836, Wilkie justified his rural subject matter against that of painters of elevated subjects, whose genius was "like water spilt in a desert" because "it did not take account of the ruling desires of the times."<sup>57</sup> The painters' triumph "is yet more proud when they dedicate their powers to the delineation of humble worth - of wisdom and virtue in a cottage, of the pleasures of

rural pursuits, and record in lasting colours the enjoyments of the poor. Out of these lovely materials art creates scenes so bright in expression and so vivid in sentiment, as excite the admiration of the polished and the lofty. Indeed, it may be asserted that the arts mix themselves up with the daily occupations and inventions of man, and that without their assistance little record would have been made of national manners, national looks, or national deeds".<sup>58</sup>

The painting of The Penny Wedding may itself have something of the flavour of the kailyard,<sup>59</sup> but the drawings made in 1817, especially those of rural interiors (e.g. 1817.13), are important historical records.

## CHAPTER 7

1818 - 1822:

The Chelsea Pensioners: "One of the  
most stupendous things ever painted".<sup>1</sup>

The commission by the Duke of Wellington, in the summer of 1816, of the picture which eventually became The Chelsea Pensioners Reading in the Waterloo Gazette marked the most significant turning point in Wilkie's subject matter. The Duke evidently expected a genre picture in the manner of The Rent Day, the first of Wilkie's pictures which he had seen;<sup>2</sup> what he received, some six years later, was a significant piece of social and historical record.

The delay between conception and completion was not unprecedented - indeed, the almost contemporary Reading of the Will, finished in 1820, had been suggested to Wilkie in 1808.<sup>3</sup> The Chelsea Pensioners was different, however, for Wilkie started thinking about the picture immediately, and continued throughout almost the whole of the six year period to make studies developing his ideas for the composition. His concern to present a piece of work worthy of the national hero must have caused him to take greater pains than usual, and helps to explain the striking changes in subject matter, treatment and conception in the Chelsea Pensioners during its gestation. Wilkie had considered in 1816

that, despite his other commissions, two years would suffice to complete the project.<sup>4</sup> As late as October 1821, however, he was still making major alterations to the figure arrangement,<sup>5</sup> and in 1822 he wrote that "this picture contains sixty figures, and took me full sixteen months constant work besides the months of study to collect and arrange".<sup>6</sup>

The final picture was painted with the detailed care of his Dutch manner, and is his ultimate achievement with this method. The drawings developed in quite a different way, however, increasing in power and breadth as Wilkie turned constantly to pen and ink to try out his multitude of changing ideas. Drawing assumed a more significant role; it became the medium in which he thought, considering and modifying his initial ideas by further visual combination. Thus the gradual transition from genre to history can be followed in detail in the drawings.

Wilkie did more drawings for this painting than for any other. Many have since been lost, but nearly seventy preparatory sketches in various media are known 1817.67-75, 85 and supporting evidence from the sale catalogues, journals 1818.5-16 and correspondence, allows a complete picture to be built 1819.53-58 up of Wilkie's developed method of working, and to follow 1820.20-73, 87-89, 91-93 the progression of ideas in this composition more closely 1821.10-11 than in any other work. 1822.51 1823.2

## The commission and its history

On August 18th, 1816, the day after the Duke's visit, Wilkie wrote to Haydon from Kensington, telling him of the commission, the subject decided on by the Duke being "a parcel of old soldiers assembled together on their seats at the door of a public house chewing tobacco and talking over their old stories. He thought they might be in any uniform and that it should be at some public house in the King's Road, Chelsea".<sup>7</sup> Wilkie agreed that "this would make a beautiful picture and that it only wanted some story or a principal incident to connect the figures together".<sup>8</sup> The Duke suggested that "perhaps playing at skittles would do, or any other game"; Wilkie immediately proposed that one might be reading a newspaper aloud to the rest, and that in making a sketch of it many other incidents would occur, to which proposal the Duke agreed.<sup>9</sup> This suggests that perhaps the seeds for the final picture were already present in Wilkie's mind; on the other hand, there are other paintings with just this incident included, particularly his major commission at that time, The Reading of the Will, for the King of Bavaria, which explores similar facets and possibilities of people listening to interesting news. In the Will, however, the subjects have many individual and varying reactions to what they hear, whereas, with the exception of the widow with baby,<sup>10</sup> the figures in the Chelsea Pensioners are united in their positive pleasure at the news of Waterloo.



Whether or not Wilkie had seen the incident as he portrays it is not known. He does not say so, but as he had lived in the vicinity of the King's Road for some time <sup>11</sup> and was familiar with the surroundings, it is highly likely that he had witnessed similar scenes. As he refers to his "peaceful style of art" at the end of his letter to Haydon, <sup>12</sup> it is clear that both he and the Duke were thinking of a jovial rather than an intense kind of painting, more in the manner perhaps of The Penny Wedding, which had clearly impressed the Duke. <sup>13</sup>

No further reference to the commission occurs for more than five months, when Sir George Beaumont writes <sup>14</sup> to congratulate Wilkie on the commission, and to comment on the special visit paid to Waterloo by Wilkie and Haydon. Ideas of a more dramatic composition were perhaps brought to Wilkie's mind by stirring accounts from his brother John of the battles in which he was involved in India, under the command of the "Wellington of the East", General Auchterlony. In December 1817 John described to his brother the dramatic taking of Dia Ram. <sup>15</sup> This was to become relevant once again in the later painting of Sir David Baird; in 1817 it increased Wilkie's awareness of the realities of war. It is worth noting that it was to Haydon, the history painter and advocate of subjects of the mind, that Wilkie wrote a detailed transcription of his brother's letter.

One can assume that the serious work for the Chelsea Pensioners was underway in 1818, after Wilkie



had completed and exhibited his Penny Wedding.<sup>16</sup> By October 17th, 1818 an oil sketch had been made (probably that now in the Chelsea Hospital). Wilkie wrote to his friend Perry Nursey: "For my sketch of the Chelsea Pensioners, I am not yet satisfied with it, and am altering it very much from what it was when at your house. The Duke has not seen it but I wish to have it ready to show him when he comes to England".<sup>17</sup> It was probably this altered sketch (Plate 123) which Wilkie submitted to the Duke's inspection after having to postpone a Christmas visit to Perry Nursey in order to await the Duke's pleasure. On January 24th, 1819 the Duke called on Wilkie to continue the negotiations, but seeing the sketch beside the almost completed pictures of Duncan Gray and The Penny Wedding in Wilkie's studio, he clearly thought it extremely slight, and "made scarcely any remark on it".<sup>18</sup>

This lack of enthusiasm presages the many dis-satisfactions which the Duke was shortly to express, and explains why no effort was made by him to hurry the commission. As Sir George Beaumont was shortly to<sup>19</sup> point out, and Wilkie himself was later to acknowledge, the layman was unable to imagine the fully developed final image on seeing only a rough sketch.<sup>20</sup>

After being put off several times,<sup>21</sup> Wilkie eventually had an interview with the Duke at Apsley House.<sup>22</sup> He "told me that he wished to have in the picture more of the soldiers of the present day instead of those I had put in of half a century ago", recorded Wilkie.

"He wished me to make a slight alteration and would call on me in a week or ten days to look at it."<sup>23</sup> A full two months elapsed before the Duke called, on June 18th, 1819, and by this time a further sketch had been made. "His Grace mentioned what he liked and disliked in the last sketch I made".<sup>24</sup>

After making alterations, Wilkie called again at Apsley House on July 12th, 1819. The Duke and his adviser Mr. Long discussed the two oil sketches, and eventually agreed that "out of the two a picture might be made that would do".<sup>25</sup> The Duke had expressed a preference for the new sketch, with the young figures but "as Mr. Long remonstrated against the old fellows being taken out, the Duke agreed that the man reading should be a pensioner, besides some others in the picture. He wished that the piper might be put in, also the man with the wooden leg, but he objected to the man with opthalmia".<sup>26</sup> Having sorted out the content of the picture, Wilkie asked the Duke whether he might begin the picture: he replied "immediately if I pleased".<sup>27</sup>

Wilkie did not, however, begin immediately, for he was embroiled with his picture for the King of Bavaria. He had obviously been slightly nonplussed by the Duke's detailed interference, and for the next five months was considering how to amalgamate his two ideas. By December 22nd, 1819, Wilkie had "not yet begun (his) Chelsea people",<sup>28</sup> but by December 28th he felt that he had "got the sketch for his Grace's picture all settled".<sup>29</sup> Because he had been going on with The

Opening of a Will, he had "laid aside at present the Duke of Wellington's picture till this is done".<sup>30</sup>

Whilst the King of Bavaria's picture was in Wilkie's studio its satirical and genre character had repercussions on The Chelsea Pensioners. Wilkie found The Will a tedious burden in the final stages, because he was full of conflicting ideas for The Chelsea Pensioners, and was "very ambitious to paint the subject".<sup>31</sup>

At last, on April 14th, 1820, he recorded in his journal "Began to line in the perspective of the picture for the Duke of Wellington".<sup>32</sup> On July 24th, 1820, he wrote to Nursey, "I have various pictures, of which The Chelsea Pensioners is the chief. This I am painting upon the scale of 5 feet by 3 making figures of a much more efficient size than what I painted formerly. The background which will be the Chelsea Hospital I am to paint from drawings made upon the spot, and both that and the houses that come up to the figures are so well suited to my purpose that I mean to make a facsimile reproduction of them".<sup>33</sup>

This programme was apparently interrupted, for by October 1820 Wilkie had made "a complete alteration or rather transposition of all the figures ... to concentrate the interest to one point, and to improve the composition by making it more of a whole".<sup>34</sup> He worked so hard that his health began to suffer,<sup>35</sup> and he went to stay with his old friend Dr. Thomson<sup>36</sup> of Long Stowe Hall in order to relax.<sup>37</sup>

In October 1821, he was making "a great alteration in the figures ... consisting chiefly in transposing the figures on the left hand side ... before much more towards the side, nearer to the centre; so that the man

reading the paper should be more in the eye of the picture".<sup>38</sup> Later in that year, Wilkie was too involved with his picture to take a Christmas break with the Nurseys.<sup>39</sup> The next mention of the picture in his journal records the visit of the Duke of Wellington to Wilkie's studio on February 27th, 1822; the Duke "seemed highly pleased" with the painting, and "observed that it was more finished than any I had done".<sup>40</sup>

This composition had cost Wilkie enormous effort. Mrs Thomson affirms: "I think he made ten sketches at least, of the celebrated Waterloo picture, and we discussed them all".<sup>41</sup> Wilkie called at her home almost daily during the summer of 1821, on his way back from making studies in Chelsea, "to sketch an old projecting house, under the shadow of which some of his groups were placed".<sup>42</sup> Mrs. Thomson thus had the opportunity of witnessing the difficulties Wilkie faced during the evolution of the subject. She speaks of his slow progress due to his method of amassing visual records, on "bits of tinted paper",<sup>43</sup> of the picturesque and irregular buildings in Jews Row. Her account of Wilkie's patient study of members of her household for the group with the family at the right of the Chelsea Pensioners gives an explanation for the numerous sketches which exist for this part of the composition.<sup>44</sup>

"Fine as the picture became", she says, "it seemed, at first, not to be in his way; he was intensely anxious about it, thought of it incessantly, and dreamed of it, I believe; and slowly, inch by inch, matured the design in his careful mind".<sup>45</sup>

### The five phases of development

This evidence from journals and letters provides a chronological framework in which five distinct phases can be discerned. The first, preliminary phase probably dates from 1817, shortly after Wilkie's visit to Scotland,<sup>46</sup> and comprises chiefly drawings concerned with the entire composition - both figures and setting. The major problem of arrangement was solved by reversing the main lines of the original composition (1817.71); this phase culminates in the drawing (1818.16a), and the 1818 oil sketch at the Chelsea Hospital.

The second phase, from March 7th, 1819 to July 12th, 1819, involved many drawings, and was principally concerned with the introduction of younger figures in response to the Duke's request. Little can be definitely assigned to this period, but all sketches which include the man with the eyeglass must have been made before July 12th, 1819, when the Duke objected to that figure.<sup>47</sup>

The third phase begins with the two black chalk sketches at Apsley House - probably done during the discussion on July 12 1819 as suggestions for alternative treatments of the rejected family group. In this period, from July 1819 to August 1820, Wilkie was concerned with the problems of successfully amalgamating the two oil sketches and altering the family group at the extreme right. His year of grappling with these difficulties resulted in three different solutions - one recorded in the three squared up compositions (1820.36-38), another in the design for the Northbrook oil (1820)<sup>48</sup>, and the



third in the Batchelor drawing of August 18, 1820 (1820. 37). It is often impossible to place the drawings from phase three in chronological order, as they refer back to ideas from much earlier imagery.

In phase four, Wilkie altered his conception of the nature of the subject; from the time he started working on the large final canvas in 1820, it became a grand history subject. He also attempted to relate his right and centre groups, which had become detached due to his concentration on the right-hand side. He found several partial solutions to the problem of unifying these two groups. At first, he made figures calling across the intervening space, as in the Northbrook sketch (e.g. 1820.36). Alternatively he tried repositioning the central table towards the right, so that a linking figure in the right-hand group could be shown with his hand on the back of a chair at the central table (1820.44). These solutions were abandoned for the more artistically satisfying arrangement in the 1820 movement sketch (1820.46) showing the action flowing naturally across the canvas. This phase ends with the displacement of the girl tiring her hair from a lofty to a low position. (1820.48).

The final phase concerns the emphasis of the Reader, who had been much neglected; the solution is seen in the Birmingham rough sketch (1821.10) and the Batchelor chiaroscuro composition (1821.11).

The drawings from the preliminary phase are characterised by an intimate Arcadian relaxed and totally



happy conception, with none of the intensity of feeling displayed in the final canvas. The drawing, of Men playing skittles at Bayswater (1817.68), was obviously made deliberately with the Duke's suggestion in mind. It contains the principal elements of the final composition, concentrating on the idea of the rewards of peace after victory; the pensioners are well looked after, and enjoying themselves. It concentrates particularly on the reunited family on the left, even the father's glass eye (his own sacrificed in his country's service) providing amusement for his child. This genre conception continues through the composition sketches (1817. 70-73), and throughout the second phase; after the reversal of the composition and the introduction of younger figures, the principal characters are women, engaged with their babies or their coiffeur. These female figures are similar to those in The Penny Wedding; indeed, the right side of the "July 13" drawing (1818. 16a ) shows an arrangement of women close to that in the left side of the Penny Wedding. The detailed chronology of these drawings can be followed in the catalogue.

1817. 67-  
1818.16

After the interview with the Duke in July 1819, Wilkie spent an entire year grappling with the problem of the family group.<sup>49</sup> He was also making careful studies of pensioners and soldiers, and no doubt hearing their stirring stories of the wars; it was during this period that his ideas about the nature of the subject began to change towards a more dramatic modern history theme.

His difficulties, already severe, then became overwhelming. He did not appreciate for some time that his dominant theme of reunited families, which provided the major content of the picture so far, would have to be drastically altered in order to become subjected to the expression of unified concentration on the news of the historic victory.

The progress of the girl tiring her hair is symbolic of Wilkie's change of attitude. In the Bayswater drawing (1817.68), she is on the left, looking into the picture, and provides no compositional problems. Having reversed the composition, and drawn the pose from life with the girl facing forwards and looking out of the picture to the right, two problems emerged. First, she became the major focus of the picture, instead of the newsreader at the other side, because the pose was so splendid and her prominent position at the front so immediately attractive. Secondly, her gaze guided the attention of the viewer out of the painting instead of towards the reader. The 1818 oil at Chelsea Hospital solves the second problem by altering the direction of her glance, but introduces a third problem - being a female in a summer dress, she is bathed in light, while the main incident is lost in gloom. In fact, she becomes the subject of the picture.

The long series of pen sketches of this figure and her relationship to the family group show Wilkie trying to find a solution which would enable him to retain this inspired pose. He tries adding further female figures

to detract from her importance (1819.57). He displaces her from the family group, connecting her instead with a group leaning through the railings in an attitude obviously intended as a pictorial counter-balance to the movement of her head. He tries her standing, holding her hair and looking into the picture; or seated on a lower chair; or in a group containing a toddler, whose glance leads back into the picture: all to no avail.<sup>50</sup>

plates 151-164

The Nottingham sketch shows Wilkie, in phase four, 1820.48 adapting the pose and flattening it out of all recognition, relegating the girl to a very low seat and facing her towards the newsreader. This drawing marks Wilkie's full realisation of the inappropriateness of applying his previous method of composing (with various centres of interest, linked by a common theme) to a subject which demanded the full and overwhelming concentration of every figure on one centre of interest.

The late pen sketch, of movement flowing from 1820.46 figure to figure across the design, shows Wilkie considering the full composition for the first time in months, and achieving more satisfactory links than in the rejected solution in the Ashmolean sketch (1820.44) in which the linking figure is between the groups. This compositional drawing probably led him at last to reconsider the left hand side, for which there are remarkably few drawings and to move the newsreader further towards the centre (1821.11). At last, the movement of gestures and poses and the chiaroscuro of

the sketch linked both sides of the composition, although the relationship of figures to setting - having, as usual, never been considered together from the first phase - remained unsatisfactory.

#### Rubens and the studies for the Chelsea Pensioners

Wilkie's development in his more careful studies at this time deserves comment. The Chelsea Pensioners is contemporary with The Penny Wedding in its early stages, and with the Hogarthian Reading of the Will<sup>51</sup> in the middle period. The period of the Penny Wedding coincides with Wilkie's interest in Rubens as a draughtsman, and it was probably in 1818 that Wilkie was copying Rubens' drawing of Isabella Brandt<sup>52</sup>, now in the British Museum. It is easy to see why Wilkie chose this particular portrait to study, with the fascinating cat-like features of the sitter drawn up into a most expressive smile. Wilkie's copy (1818.4) looks like a portrait of a gentler sister; he has smoothed away the powerful modelling of Rubens in a way which Bell would have deplored.<sup>53</sup> The details of the features are, however, carefully put in, and the breadth and mass at least suggested. This was one of Wilkie's experiments, and, as Uwins said, if you aim high you must expect often to fail.<sup>54</sup>

A much more powerful exercise in the manner of Rubens, which must be of a similar date - this time drawn with the stimulus of a lifemodel - is the well-

known Ashmolean chalk drawing of A girl tiring her hair (1818.15).

This vital image captures the three-dimensional qualities of the voluptuous young woman, concentrating on careful soft modelling in the flesh, and contrasting this with the drapery by using thicker, coarse strokes (just as in the Rubens Isabella Brandt). It is much more successful than the unique and detailed watercolour head of the old pensioner<sup>55</sup> (1819.53).

Despite some unconvincing drawing in the far arm, the Girl tiring her hair demonstrates Wilkie's increased mastery over chalk - a mastery which culminates in this period in the amazing drawing of The Duchess of Buccleuch, made the following year (1819.2).<sup>56</sup>

This attempts in drawing exactly what the painting of The Chelsea Pensioners attempts in oil: a combination of Dutch minutiae with the breadth and volume of the great seventeenth century masters. In The Duchess of Buccleuch he gives a detailed description of the soft, falling forms of the flesh on the face, and the different textures of hair, lace, linen, and silk, all without sacrificing the strong form of the features, or the splendid dominant personality of the sitter. It is a mature development from the early portrait of an old man sleeping (1804.11). When it is compared with Nicholson's Portrait of Mrs. Henderson<sup>57</sup> - a rather gentle rendering of an elderly lady in a frilly bonnet - the power of Wilkie's uncompromising frontal view and unflattering but dignified portrait is remarkable.

Wilkie found that his study of Rubens was less



relevant when he moved away from predominantly female subjects to the more masculine subject of soldiers, and there are few chalk drawings for The Chelsea Pensioners after 1819. (e.g. 1819.56). As he turned his attention away from the more monumental drawings of Rubens back towards De Hoogh<sup>58</sup> he became swamped with problems of costume details and facsimile settings in his painting. For this the Duke of Wellington must bear some responsibility, for he insisted on precision of military uniforms and individualised portraiture.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, Wilkie's pen drawings continue to reflect the influence of Rubens. plates 161-168

#### The method of working

John Woodward, in his preface to the 1958 Exhibition catalogue, summarises succinctly Wilkie's preparatory methods: "Immense labour went into his works, Wilkie almost equalling Rubens in the number of preparatory drawings and oil sketches which he made throughout his life for his major compositions. As a preliminary, slight but fluent notes in pen and ink were drawn, and then worked up into greater detail; after which miniature lay-figures were arranged and placed in a box representing the interior, in order that experimental oil sketches could be made of the grouping and lighting. A highly finished oil sketch preceded the final work."

Although The Chelsea Pensioners is set in the open air, it seems quite likely that Wilkie's favourite device



of a stage set was used - the picture certainly has theatrical lighting effects. Wilkie had mentioned using this aid for The Reading of the Will in a letter of July 24th, 1820 to Perry Nursey. He describes clay models of the group of figures, properly lit and clothed to study effects of light and shadow, as "one of the most powerful helps next to nature itself for determining the effect of a picture". It was a "revival of the Venetians' old system and some of the Dutch", to which they "probably owed much of their science of the branch of clair-obscur".<sup>60</sup>

He goes on to describe his own use of the process: "Now an entire model for The Reading of the Will placed in a wooden box with little tables, chairs, carpets and even pictures on the wall are painted of their natural colours, and when a paper light is let in upon them through one of the windows ... it is one of the most beautiful sights an artist can behold. It gives a degree of force and consistence ... that no other method could have secured".<sup>61</sup>

This technique does not seem to have been employed until late in the gestation of The Chelsea Pensioners, but was of fundamental importance in the final two phases, which involved uniting the separate elements of the composition.

Every kind of drawing, from the most brief (1819.57) to the most finished (1820.37), was used by Wilkie in his preparation of The Chelsea Pensioners. Every type of medium - chalk, wash, watercolour, crayon, pencil, pen

and ink - was employed. Most of the drawings were created entirely for working purposes, and have a strength and energy which spring from Wilkie's lack of inhibition. Some are scribbled on the back of letters, many on the verso of other sketches. Even when the scorings and scratchings from one side of the paper stain a drawing on the other side, as in (1818.11) the delicacy of the pen detailing can still be admired: much of the vitality of studies such as (1817.74) and (1819.57) comes from the correcting strokes of the pen. This vitality is maintained in the more complete sketches from life of girls combing or braiding their hair (1819.54&55), but the main work for the picture was done in these fluid pen notes. Even the squared up composition of (1820.38) had been a working sketch first, with other groupings and arrangements in crayon on the same sheet; the most satisfactory solution was subsequently strengthened with brush and ink to provide a guide for the lines of an oil sketch.

### The finished picture

Wilkie's picture met with unprecedented success at the Academy Exhibition in 1822 - so much so that a barrier had to be erected to protect it from the press of the crowds.<sup>62</sup> Wilkie's friend Collins thought it "one of the most stupendous things ever painted",<sup>1</sup> while a more detached observer, Géricault, felt that the French

painters had much to learn from "the touching expressions of Wilky". He says of the painting: I will speak only of one figure which seems to me the most perfect, whose pose and expression draws tears, however much one holds them back. It is a soldier's wife who, thinking only of her husband, searches with harassed, restless eyes the list of the dead... There is no crepe or mourning - rather the wine flows on every table, and the sky is unfurrowed by any fatally presaging lightning. But it reaches a final pathos like nature herself".<sup>63</sup>

Even Haydon, who had so often argued that there was no virtue in merely reporting events without drawing a conclusion,<sup>64</sup> approved of The Chelsea Pensioners. His remarks on Wilkie's 1812 Exhibition apply with even greater force here: at that time he had already noted that although Wilkie rarely equalled "the floating richness of Teniers in touch and surface ... in simplicity and beauty of composition, in truth of character and expression, in the power to make every face contribute to the development of the story, even in the more subordinate manner by a reference to it so that there is no one head ever to let ... Teniers and Jan Steen and all the painters of Holland must cede to him the superiority in time... He keeps up the feeling through every face in the picture... Cover any part of Wilkie's picture ... and you can tell almost what is going on under the piece covered. His most remote figures are linked to the most prominent by an invisible ramification".<sup>65</sup>



## CHAPTER 8

1822 - 1825:

"To be successful in wielding the full powers  
of art seems worthy of Man's ambition"<sup>1</sup>

Wilkie seemed, after the exhibition of 1822, to be at last poised on the brink of a successful new career as a modern history painter. His pre-eminence in British painting was tacitly acknowledged by official honours at the very next opportunity: when Sir Henry Raeburn died in 1823, Wilkie was appointed in his place as King's Painter in Scotland.<sup>2</sup> Believing that he would now have an audience for history subjects, Wilkie turned to "one of the best subjects I have yet got"<sup>3</sup> - John Knox Preaching before the Lords of the Congregation.

The idea for the subject of the preaching of Knox was not consequent upon the success of The Chelsea Pensioners, for by 1821 Wilkie had completed a compositional drawing (1821.1) containing all the principal elements for the subject. He admitted that he had "a great relish"<sup>4</sup> for this sort of subject, and indeed it held a natural interest to one who was the son of a Presbyterian minister and who was deeply interested in the major preachers of the day. He told Cunningham that one of the first series of illustrations he ever studied was that in the Bassandyne Bible at Ratho:<sup>5</sup> woodcuts of, for example, the precise details of the dress of the

High Priest, of the measurements and placings of all the elements of the Temple, or of the exact route negotiated by the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan.<sup>6</sup>

Wilkie combined this interest in exact historical record with an interest in the Reformed Church. Later he was to become deeply concerned with the contrasts between Protestant and Catholic forms of worship,<sup>7</sup> but his drawings in the 1820's relate to his own Church of Scotland and its heroes, past and present. Both Thomas Chalmers<sup>8</sup> and Edward Irving,<sup>9</sup> the two outstanding Scottish preachers of the time, were close friends<sup>10</sup> of Wilkie. Both made a resounding impact on their congregations when preaching from the pulpit, Thomas Chalmers moving even the eminent politician Canning to tears during an eloquent sermon in London in 1817,<sup>11</sup> in spite of his "disadvantages of voice, manner, figure and action".<sup>12</sup> Edward Irving, with the added advantage of impressive height, mellifluous voice and long hair, was a more intrinsically dramatic figure, and his Pentecostal message, "preaching down the old Kirk and preaching up the new",<sup>13</sup> generated controversy among his hearers reminiscent of the scenes at Knox's preaching. Cunningham says that sketches were made by Wilkie of both his friends for the subject of Knox, and it is probable that (1817.3) was made as early as 1817, when Chalmers made his first impact as a preacher in London. Wilkie's driving ambition to become a "Martin Luther in painting"<sup>14</sup> dates from this period, rather than from the much later date at which he made his



famous statement. The Knox begins a series of religious subjects considered by Wilkie, culminating in his visit to the Holy Land. The picture was seldom out of his mind;<sup>15</sup> he had approached the subject in his usual meticulous manner, studying the exact history of the time through McCrie,<sup>16</sup> looking out the pulpit used by Knox, by then stored in a Kirk basement, and arranging for an assistant to make a careful drawing of it.<sup>17</sup> He made studies of a Holbein portrait (1821.3) in order to correctly render the sister of Mary Stewart<sup>18</sup> (1821.2); it was clearly his intention that accurate historical detail should inform the whole scene.

The painting had reached the stage of an oil sketch by 1822, when Wilkie was rather suddenly, and most unwillingly, obliged to divert his attention from Knox to a picture recording the visit of George IV to Edinburgh. Wilkie enjoyed going back to Scotland and meeting his friends. He even found time to discuss his oil sketch of Knox with Sir Walter Scott,<sup>19</sup> and to gather material for the picture. The actual scenes and events of the Royal Visit, so splendidly staged by Sir Walter, made a vivid impression on Wilkie, reminding him of ancient ceremonies. Although he was extremely excited, and made a multitude of sketches recording the royal progress, he found that he could not immediately "reduce them upon canvas".<sup>20</sup>

At the end of the year he went to Niton, on the Isle of Wight, and there produced a series of large, very elaborate pen and ink drawings, which were composites of the sketches he had made on the spot during George IV's

Edinburgh visit (1822.20 - 1822.50). A baroque procession and reception were intended, with cheering crowds in the background: a combination of glittering pageant and drama - in fact, a modern Scottish history painting to commemorate the first visit of a reigning monarch to Scotland since the Union.

The evidence of the following year shows Wilkie preoccupied by historical subjects. In a letter to Perry Nursey on November 25th, 1822,<sup>21</sup> he mentions working on no less than three, all of them Scottish. He had completed a sketch for an incident in the Life of Queen Mary, was enthusiastically engaged on his favourite subject, The Preaching of John Knox, and was working on the difficult processional scene of George IV in Scotland. From the drawings we know that many associated history subjects teamed in Wilkie's mind at the time. From the ceremony of George IV washing his hands sprang the idea of a picture (Pl.429) showing the original incident which founded the ceremony: James V and the Miller of Cramond Brig. The success of his Chelsea Pensioners encouraged him to think of a sequel concerning the exploits of Nelson. The drawings of this subject show Wilkie attempting two scenes of more concentrated drama: The Body of Nelson, borne down from the 'Victory', based on the form of a Deposition from the Cross, and a much more intense scene of Nelson in his cabin, sealing the despatch which was to conclude his triumph<sup>22</sup> - an idea he adapted shortly afterwards to a second picture about Waterloo, Wellington Signing his Despatch on the Eve of

1825.6a-e

1825.7  
Plate 221

1825.17-19

of the Battle of Waterloo.<sup>23</sup>

When one looks at the paintings produced during these years, rather than the drawings, however, the contrast is striking: from The Newsmongers (1821) to The Highland Family (1824), not one large canvas nor a single history subject is found.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the majority are very small pictures, illustrating The Gentle Shepherd or trivial genre incidents. The great contrast between the subject matter of the paintings and that of the drawings does not simply reflect the longer time it took Wilkie to work up a history composition, nor his need to relax with some quick "pot-boilers" after his effort with The Chelsea Pensioners, but rather the battle between Wilkie and the taste of his patrons. This battle was won temporarily by the patrons, and the problems which ensued culminated in Wilkie's nervous breakdown.

Wilkie had voluntarily laid aside his picture of Mary Queen of Scots "for a future time".<sup>25</sup> because he had discovered that his friend William Allan was engaged on a similar subject - The abduction of Mary.<sup>26</sup> In his enthusiasm for the subject of Knox, Wilkie decided that it was worthy of his most eminent patron. He confidently offered his favourite picture to the King - not considering that the Head of the Church of England might find the subject of the Reformer distasteful. Wilkie received a sharp rebuff; the King expressed a "strong dislike for the subject",<sup>27</sup> and demanded a humorous picture. Wilkie did not argue the matter, and quickly found another very enthusiastic patron in Lord Liverpool, but this

carried its own problems. The Earl was anxious to have the Knox as soon as possible, and put constant pressure on Wilkie to complete the painting.<sup>28</sup> Wilkie could not have been more willing to work on the Knox, but he wanted the painting to be as complete in detail as The Chelsea Pensioners, and his involvement with the project of painting an incident from George IV's visit to Scotland prevented him from devoting the necessary time to his Knox.

The painting of the Scottish visit was also presenting unforeseen problems. On December 15th 1822, soon after Wilkie had returned from Niton with his sheets of preparatory sketches of the events in Edinburgh, Sir Robert Peel 1822.21-30 called. Wilkie showed him these drawings of modern 1822.35 history subjects, and received his second rebuff - 1822.46-50 Peel "did not think them capable of making a picture". "Of all my sketches of subjects", Wilkie recorded without comment, "he liked The Rich Relation the best".<sup>29</sup> 1822.36-42

This disheartening preference for his genre subjects shows that the dichotomy between history and genre subjects was considered absolute by his patrons, whereas Wilkie himself adopted a much more pragmatic approach to his compositions. Indeed, the very arrangement of the subject of The Rich Relation (1822.37) which Peel had 1822.37 plates 187-188 preferred was closely based upon drawings for George IV at Holyrood, which Peel had believed would not make a satisfactory picture. The baroque composition of George IV's Entry into Holyrood (1822.27,29,30), with its noise, bustle, and multitude of obsequious attendants, is here pressed into service to welcome, not the monarch,

but a grim mouthed old lady - a situation worthy of comparison with the best of Hogarth's visual comments on human nature.

Wilkie's method of thinking through his drawings is visible in the interrelationships between subjects. Just as the Reading the Will, with its family reunion totally disrupted by the news contained in the will, finds its foil in the first studies for The Chelsea Pensioners, with the families confirmed in their reunion by the news of peace, so the subjects of the early 1820's echo and reflect each other.

The Rich Relation borrows not only from the design of George IV at Holyrood, but also its main attendant with a large parasol from the Ottawa drawing of The Arrival of Carriages at the Drawing Room (1822.22); its woman with glasses in the porch from Guess my Name (1820. 80 & 81); and its negro boy attendant from the painting of Reading the Will (Plate 148). In their turn, the genre sketches of Going to the Drawing Room (1822. 25 & 26) and The Reception at the Drawing Room (1822.28) combine to provide the main lines of the history painting of George IV, while the central group, with George receiving the keys, provides the basic format for the sketches of James V and the Miller of Cramond Brig (Plate 429). The figure of the rich relation herself is reversed and given a different character in Welcoming the Howdie (1822. 43-45) where the eager outstretched arms of the anxious relatives have yet another slightly different and more particularly genre cause and meaning.



This acute awareness of small variations in gesture and expression reflects Wilkie's continuing interest in the ideas of Joanna Baillie, expressed in the Plays on the Passions<sup>30</sup> where the same emotion of fear or love is explored, first in a situation of high tragedy, and then in a parallel situation of comedy. The sharpening of satire in these drawings shows Wilkie in his most Hogarthian mood. Many critics have followed Hazlitt in accounting Wilkie's work: "lenten fare, very good and wholesome, but rather insipid",<sup>31</sup> but this opinion cannot be maintained before the compositions of The Rich Relation or Reading the Will.

The Election (1822.1) and The Christening (1823. 14-20) are more straightforward renderings of subjects which were previously treated by Hogarth; they depend on the Knox, in the first case for the principal haranguing figure, and in the second for the arrangement of figures piling up the pulpit steps. Wilkie also drew an Admonition in the Church (now lost); it seems probable that he followed the treatment of either David Allan or Hogarth. His Night Coach (1823.4) certainly recalls the first scene of The Harlot's Progress, where she arrives in London, but the treatment is far more dramatic. None of these Hogarthian works seems to have been commissioned.

Wilkie attempted to bridge the gap between genre and history with two fine experimental subjects in a different vein: The Smugglers' Return (1824) and The Parish Beadle (1823). Both contained the sort of detail appreciated by his patrons. For The Smugglers, for example,

1823.9-12

1822.2-10



Wilkie followed Hogarth, and, with a special dispensation from Peel, "got admission to Newgate to see the foreign smugglers with whose picturesque costume and strongly marked seafaring characteristics I have been greatly interested".<sup>32</sup> For The Parish Beadle, based on John Galt's novel "The Provost",<sup>33</sup> Wilkie made further studies in Exeter Exchange of bears, and suffered unmentionable difficulties with Lady Fitzgerald's pet monkey,<sup>34</sup> in order to introduce interesting foreign elements into his work. Both pictures added to this exotic subject matter rich tone, which was deliberately intended to unify the detailed handling still prevalent in the figures. They both attempt to extend the subject matter gently towards drama, instead of jumping suddenly to the pure religion of the Knox, or the history of Queen Mary. They met with mixed success, many people fearing, as did Delacroix later for the Knox,<sup>35</sup> that Wilkie would ruin his paintings by this use of dark tone.

Wilkie's intentions were fixed, however, and show the beginnings of a new way of working with his preparatory drawings. The sketch at Nottingham for The Parish Beadle, dated 1822 (1822.9) shows Wilkie making a full coloured compositional sketch before painting his largest painting of the period. This method of sorting out tones and colours together with figures and setting was a major new departure from his established procedure, which he was later to employ without the aid of supplementary detailed studies of little elements.

Wilkie's drawing style in chalk also retained some of

the mass of his 1818 sketches, for example the lovely study for Jenny in the Ottawa Museum (1824.25), but some of the other studies from this period look rather empty as if he no longer studied from life. When he did have a sitter before him, he was as competent as ever, and his increase in mastery over the medium is evident in portraits such as Perry Nursey (1823.1); with the difficult problem of the half-crippled Dugald Stewart, he had to superimpose an image from the past over the disfigured face (1824.1).<sup>36</sup>

In spite of these drawings which show continuing development, there are many from this period which show a falling off of powers, a slightness of forms and a repetition of imagery. The extraordinarily precise drawings for The Unexpected Visitor (1820.80 & 81) give the impression of a concern with unimportant features - in fact, a regression. The doll-like men in Drawing the Net (1824.9 and 1824.10) or the slight forms in the Shooting Scenes (1824.3) look back to the studies for Blind Man's Buff, without the lyricism of the earlier plates 60, 61, 65. drawings. They suggest that Wilkie was being influenced by the manner of Mulready, and was also neglecting study from the life model.

It was at this time when Wilkie, in the midst of a very long timetable, was seeking about for some style which would allow him to develop while keeping his public; while repetitions of his highly detailed Chelsea Pensioners were required on all hands; while he was experiencing frustrating delays with Knox, that a series of personal

misfortunes occurred almost simultaneously, causing his health to break down.

First his mother, who had been his greatest personal supporter, died; then his friend, Helen's fiancé Robert Nurse, died shortly before the marriage. His two elder brothers died in India and Canada, leaving him the principal support of their growing families, as well as of Helen. Wilkie tried to work harder than before, in order to earn enough to cope with his increasing responsibilities, but he was overwhelmed and, even before he had the news that his brother Thomas was affected by the financial instability in the city and was also thrown on his support, he had a nervous breakdown, and found that he could not work at all.<sup>37</sup> The subsequent failure of his print-sellers, Hurst and Robinson, must have seemed a drop in the ocean.<sup>38</sup>

Wilkie remained abroad for nearly three years, and for the first months was incapable of painting, or of making any but the most summary of drawings. He spent part of his time in social intercourse, but his major activity was studying the work of the Old Masters, especially those of the Italian school. He met several friends, including Andrew Wilson, Hilton, Phillips and Uwins, who were engaged in the same line of study, and who have left invaluable reports of Wilkie's progress in these early months.

Uwins tells us that Wilkie was immediately impressed by the use of a low focal ray in the works of

## CHAPTER 9

1825 - 1828:

### Studies in Europe, and the change in painting style

Wilkie's period of convalescence abroad was to prove one of the most important in his working career. During it the breadth of treatment which had hitherto been confined to his drawings was, by a conscious decision,<sup>1</sup> extended to his paintwork. Crucial to this decision was his study of Old Masters in Italy, which showed him how this change of painting style could be effected. Finally, his travels provided him with new health, and new subjects.

Wilkie remained abroad for nearly three years, and for the first months was incapable of painting, or of making any but the most summary of drawings. He spent part of his time in social intercourse, but his major activity was studying the work of the Old Masters, especially those of the Italian school. He met several friends, including Andrew Wilson, Hilton, Phillips and Uwins, who were engaged in the same line of study, and who have left invaluable reports of Wilkie's progress in these early months.<sup>2</sup>

Uwins tells us<sup>3</sup> that Wilkie was immediately impressed by the use of a low tonal key in the works of

the Old Masters. He had noted this characteristic much earlier in Angerstein's collection,<sup>4</sup> and had recently tried to emulate it in his Parish Beadle. He was fully aware that the prevailing taste in Britain was for a high tonal key, led by the "white painters" such as Turner and Calcott. Nevertheless, he had long felt that depth and richness of tone were of fundamental importance to good painting - "white is not light" - and saw himself as returning to the powerful chiaroscuro of the seventeenth century masters, and thus reforming art. Perhaps feeling unequal to another lonely and difficult swim against the tide of taste, he apparently made efforts to form a band of painters, a brotherhood devoted to rich tone. Although his ideas found at least a reflection in the rich paint work of Phillips, this brotherhood never materialised in any formal way.<sup>5</sup>

Wilkie had gone to the Continent intending to learn, but an interesting letter to Sir Robert Peel, written on February 13th, 1826, shortly after he had been taking his first studies from Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling (1826. 1 & 2), makes it clear that he had initially no clearly formed intention of altering his manner of working. Indeed, he declared unambiguously to Peel: "... a departure from my accustomed subjects, or even a disregard of the models of execution the Dutch and Flemish schools present would be most unwise".<sup>6</sup> It is instructive to trace the gradual but eventually complete erosion of this conviction as his studies progressed, leading finally to the decision to attempt both "new subjects and a new manner of treating them".<sup>7</sup>



His receptivity to the ideas of the Italian masters was greatly increased by two circumstances: firstly, he was largely cut off from examples of the Dutch school, and secondly, he was prevented by his illness from practising his own established manner of working. His gradual conversion to the Italian manner began, appropriately enough, with a favourable reaction to Giotto, whose great interest in depicting facial expression struck Wilkie.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, he noticed with some surprise, the entire Italian school allotted considerable attention to the "expression of thought and sentiment",<sup>9</sup> two of the most outstanding exponents being Raphael and Michelangelo - masters whom Wilkie had previously felt little rapport. He now began to see this relevance to his own art: "... without attempting to combine qualities incompatible with one another, the intelligence so conspicuous in the highest may be infused into a lower walk, and whoever tries to give human expression may learn much from the frescoes in the Vatican and Sistine Chapel."<sup>10</sup>

When Wilkie began to be able to make drawings again, he went to Michelangelo as if to school. He was forced by the nature of his illness to spend most of his time looking, and comparatively little time drawing.<sup>11</sup> His journal records his first impression of the Sistine Chapel as one of greyness, gradually giving way to impressions of rotundity, relief and grandeur.<sup>12</sup> On February 4th he wrote to his brother Thomas: "I have also begun of late to make some drawings in colours in the Sistine Chapel, from the Sibyls of Michelangelo".<sup>13</sup> In a letter



to Peel on 13th February he remarks that "(Michelangelo's) Prophets and Sibyls have that sort of dignity which makes all other styles look little. They are of the true epic; and like the Apollo and Jupiter in sculpture, have served as models for all since done of the superhuman kind."<sup>14</sup>

While studying these figures, Wilkie gradually became aware that, in spite of Michelangelo's reputation for anatomical analysis and study from life, he had achieved his effects of mass and power without adhering with absolute accuracy to the lines of the model, and his sublime effects without following accepted canons of beauty. This realisation is recorded in his journal for February 17th: "Have been engaged for some weeks past in making drawings of the Sistine Chapel. The Sibyl, Libya, and that entitled Delphica, are those I have tried; and to give as much of the appearance of fresco as I could, have done them on coloured paper, with watercolours worked up with chalk. Their style of design does not arrive at what the French would call purity: they are often incorrect, and in parts want both imitation and detail, and have scarcely an approach, in men, women or children, to our notions of beauty; but as an abstract likeness of what they are intended to represent, they perhaps come nearer the mark than if they had all the above supposed excellencies combined."<sup>15</sup>

Wilkie's two large drawings of the Sibyls (1826. 1 & 2) are heavy and laborious,<sup>16</sup> but they represent weeks of

thought and study. They remain as close as possible to the originals, and in them Wilkie is exploring problems of mass and volume in a way new to him. In this respect they contrast with the two other significant drawings which Wilkie is known to have made by this stage on his travels. One is a pen and ink sketch of Pifferari (1825.24), a scene taken from life, which concentrates on surface pattern. The other is more closely related to the Michelangelo studies, being a sketch of a Rubens alterpiece in Genoa (1825.22).<sup>17</sup> It is not, however, a drawing in which Wilkie learns anything new, but one in which he interprets something he already recognised and understood; in the process of interpretation he superimposed a great deal of his own style on the design.

Wilkie was surprised that Michelangelo had lost his popularity even among artists. Over a year later, on August 4th 1827, he wrote to William Allan: "... all study and copy Raphael: few look at Michelangelo, and none venture to imitate him; viewing with indifference these gigantic labours that have been admired and imitated alike by Raphael, by Rubens and by Reynolds".<sup>18</sup> His first impressions had been confirmed by further travel and study; he now affirmed that the works of Michelangelo and Raphael "comprehend almost everything, and are painted with a breadth and simplicity, and even with a colour, that has never been improved upon".<sup>19</sup>

The fact that he first chose to study frescoes by the great masters seems surprising, until one remembers the very close relationship between that medium and

drawing. Wilkie had from the first learned about form and how to express it through his drawings. Once breadth and simplicity were accepted in fresco, it was easier for Wilkie to appreciate the same qualities in oil painting. The change in his reaction to paintings by Old Masters is exemplified by his remarks about Titian. In 1825, in one of his references to Titian,<sup>20</sup> he felt that Titian, more than Michelangelo or Raphael, had cut himself off from the common people<sup>21</sup> because his method was too "technical or abstract for comprehension".<sup>22</sup> His changed attitude to breadth of handling in paint is reflected in his enthusiastic account to Collins on August 26th, 1827,<sup>23</sup> of the Pitti Venus by Titian: "... indescribable in its hues, yet simple beyond example in its execution and colouring". He found to his amazement that the flesh had been completed while the paint was still wet, with "no scratchings, no hatchings, no scumblings, no multiplicity or repetitions".<sup>24</sup>

The conviction that the greatest masters attained their monumental effects by simplicity of draughtsmanship was enhanced by Wilkie's study of Correggio, a master with "a profusion of intellectual intelligence",<sup>25</sup> but more approachable than Titian. Wilkie's early work had been likened to that of Correggio by John Graham. Reynolds, in his Discourses, had marked out Correggio as a master of the "composite style",<sup>26</sup> in which areas of complex draughtsmanship are contrasted with areas of simplicity.<sup>27</sup> Wilkie may well have had these two

remarks in mind when, as his health slowly returned, he at last resolved to adopt a new method of procedure based on that of Correggio and Titian.<sup>28</sup>

As one would expect from an artist whose drawings were so closely associated with his paintings, the influence of the Italian masters had equally affected the whole nature and purpose of Wilkie's preparatory studies. On previous trips abroad Wilkie had simply made isolated records of situations, dress or behaviour which he had found curious.<sup>29</sup> These unrelated drawings were rarely sufficient to work up into a picture. The drawings which he made in Italy and Spain in 1827 played quite a different role in the development of his paintings.

Wilkie had found drawing as exhausting as painting during his first year in Italy, and very few are recorded (1825. 22-24). He therefore looked for scenes from life in which people were already arranged in a suitable format. These situations and incidents he recorded as fully as possible in pen drawings, often with colour notes, subsequently working up the best of them in paint without the labour of making further, more detailed sketches. To the group of paintings executed in this way belong Princess Doria Washing the Pilgrims' Feet (1826.5) and The Confessional<sup>30</sup>: genre subjects which other visiting artists had painted,<sup>31</sup> and which merely show Wilkie flexing his muscles.

Wilkie continued his studies throughout Italy and Spain in 1827 and 1828. His picture-dealing in Van Dykes with Andrew Wilson<sup>32</sup> must have strengthened

his belief that simplicity of drawing could produce a grand effect. By the time he reached Spain, in October 1827, his new approach to painting and preparatory drawing was fully established.

Wilkie found Spain the "wild unpoached game reserve of Europe",<sup>33</sup> with a wealth of ready-made modern history subjects in the events of the recent Spanish Civil War. The excitement of being one of the first British artists to see the splendid art treasures of Spain, and the first to think of recording dramatic episodes from the recent war in a series of pictures, stimulated him into intense activity despite the lingering effects of his illness. Assisted by his friend Washington Irving,<sup>34</sup> Wilkie gained access to many Spanish collections. Irving, with his extensive knowledge of Spanish literature and history, and his ability to introduce Wilkie to interesting and important Spaniards, played a similar role in the gestation of Wilkie's Spanish subjects to that played by Sir Walter Scott for the Scottish paintings.

Wilkie felt afterwards that his seven months and ten days passed in Spain had been among the best employed of his professional life.<sup>35</sup> He had made sufficient drawings of Spanish scenes to provide subject matter for a whole series of paintings. The drawings differed in kind from those done on his previous travels, most being complete compositions. He had, however, executed sketches of this type before: the drawings for The Parish Beadle (1822.8) show a close affinity with the Spanish drawings, incorporating almost all the information required for a

1827.17-  
1828.9



painting of the subject into a single preliminary sketch employing mixed media. What is new is that, on the whole, each idea for a composition has only one associated drawing - there is an almost complete lack of supporting sketches. Thus the paintings which Wilkie completed in Spain were painted without the aid of the long series of detailed studies of different parts of the composition, sketches for the setting, portraits and still lifes which Wilkie had hitherto found necessary.<sup>36</sup>

The large painting of The Maid of Saragossa (1828) was executed quickly in this manner before Wilkie left Spain. The principal drawing for the composition (1827.29) was made in Madrid on November 19th 1827. It is done in pencil, with washes of colour, and contains all the elements to be found in the painting of the following year. The figures in the painting include at least one portrait of General Palafox, pushing the gun, which was painted at least partly from life;<sup>37</sup> in the other cases they are idealised types, the maid's pose, for example, bearing a resemblance to that of the Libyan Sibyl. The drapery is generalised to 1826.1 an extent not seen earlier in Wilkie's work; the background, in both painting and drawing, is treated with the utmost simplicity, while broad areas of deep shadow in the lower part of the composition are used to unite the figures. Several studies in chalk with a little colour (1828.1) are the only supplementary drawings we know of connected with this dramatic and romantic modern history painting.<sup>38</sup>



Hearing by letter of the results of Wilkie's study of the Old Masters, his brother Thomas expressed alarm at the possible consequences for his reputation in Britain.<sup>39</sup> Although Wilkie had by this time absolutely determined on the adoption of a bolder and more effective style, he himself admitted to misgivings as to how the British public, "with his former style in recollection",<sup>40</sup> would like his new pictures. Washington Irving, who had witnessed the progress of some of the Spanish pictures, was, however, convinced of Wilkie's success: "When I recollect how slowly he used to work and how laboriously to finish", he reflected, "I am astonished to perceive the facility with which he has adapted so opposite a manner. I think he has gained greatly in the freedom of his pencil and the general effect of his paintings".<sup>41</sup>

Spanish subjects, especially the "Barricade" and "The Death of General La Romana", which were exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1794, and "The Death of General La Romana" which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1795, relieved Wilkie of the anxiety of exhibiting his pictures, and the honour of exhibiting his pictures in the Academy was conferred on him after the death of Sir Thomas Lawrence.

These pictures of Royal Academy were exhibited the way for Wilkie when he exhibited his pictures (the maximum number allowed) at the Royal Academy Exhibition in May 1794. There were two pictures, and one was the powerful portrait of Sir John Lubbock. As he had hoped, the "natural interest" of the subjects, showing romantic scenes of heroic fortitude, often engaged in heroic action, exhibited the strength of

## CHAPTER 10

1829 - 1840:

### Limner to the King

Wilkie's fears<sup>1</sup> regarding the reception of his new style of painting by the British public proved to be quite unfounded. George IV summoned Wilkie to the palace soon after his return from Spain, and, after remarking on resemblances to Rembrandt, Murillo and Velasquez,<sup>2</sup> bought two of the four pictures Wilkie had painted in Italy and Switzerland and three of the Spanish subjects, commissioning a fourth.<sup>3</sup> The £5,000 received from the Royal Exchequer between 1828 and 1830 relieved Wilkie of immediately pressing financial worries, and the honour of appointment as Limner in Ordinary was conferred on him after the death of Sir Thomas Lawrence.<sup>4</sup>

These marks of Royal favour must have smoothed the way for Wilkie when he exposed eight pictures (the maximum number allowed) at the Royal Academy Exhibition in May 1829; seven were from his travels, and one was the powerful portrait of The Earl of Kellie.<sup>5</sup> As he had hoped, the "natural interest" of the subjects, showing romantic scenes of exotic foreigners<sup>6</sup> often engaged in heroic action, outweighed the strangeness of

the new manner of handling paint.

The decade of 1830-1840 was a period of fulfillment for Wilkie.<sup>7</sup> Despite the fact that he was not elected President of the Royal Academy, he rapidly found himself an artist with an international reputation. Previously his works had appealed primarily to people in European countries with a similar tradition of painting emphasising minute handling; by the end of the decade Wilkie's works had found homes in America (Grace before Meat 1839), Vienna (The Bride at her Toilette) (1838. ) Toulouse, La Vie Domestique and Riga, Latvia (The Irish Whiskey Still, small version).<sup>8</sup>

It is a mistake, however, to imagine that because Wilkie had broadened his style of handling paint, that everything had changed. There are many links between the paintings and drawings of the 1830-40 period and the earliest works of Wilkie.

One of the first links was a reversion to an extensive use of preparatory drawings.<sup>9</sup> During his convalescence, he had developed the practice of working from the absolute minimum of preparatory sketches. He was, however, critical of his own Spanish paintings, feeling them rather empty. Although simplicity formed painting's greatest charm, he argued, this quality has to be "sustained and contrasted with some power of varied description",<sup>10</sup> otherwise the picture would appear vapid.

He therefore again embarked upon a series of preparatory sketches for each picture, but with an

important difference from his earlier practice. The main lines of the composition were now fully established first, and then studies were made of groups of figures or of individuals, usually employing mixed media so that as many points of reference such as tone and colour, could be combined with the basic information about pose in the one drawing. Some of those for Mary Queen of Scots escaping from Loch Leven Castle (1836. 1-10) and for Josephine and the Fortuneteller (1836. 19-25) are among the most strikingly accomplished figure studies in his oeuvre, combining the breadth and mass which he had learned from Rubens and Michelangelo with the chiaroscuro of Rembrandt. Rubens and Rembrandt were to be his touchstones for drawing in this period, as Correggio was for painting.<sup>11</sup>

Another link between the periods before and after his studies abroad is provided by the continuity of subject matter of his drawings. This continuity is not evident in his paintings; indeed, it has often been assumed that he deliberately forsook domestic subjects in favour of dramatic scenes from history in an attempt to emulate the Grand Style which he had studied in Italy. Examination of the drawings makes it clear that he had long been interested in subjects of this type, but had been prevented from carrying them into paint by two factors: the intransigence of his patrons, and the laboriousness of his method of working. Possessing as he now did a style which combined rapidity of execution with breadth and monumentality; he felt equipped to join Scott,

Baillie and Galt as a recognised historian of his country. This role he took very seriously, considering that "no art that is not intellectual can be worthy of Scotland".<sup>12</sup>

The Escape of Mary, Queen of Scots from Loch Leven Castle he had considered in detail in 1822; now he based his ideas more closely on the novels of Sir Walter Scott, bringing into prominence the characters of Catherine Seaton and Roland Graeme.<sup>13</sup> His interest had been stirred by the finding of the Scottish regalia by Scott in 1822, and he had made a rather pedestrian sketch of that event (1822.21); he now turned again to the subject and developed a highly dramatic conception of the earlier incident of The Hiding of the Honours of Scotland (1835.120 and 121). This depicts the concealment of the regalia beneath the altar steps of the Church at Kinneith, during the Cromwellian period.<sup>14</sup> His early literary touchstone, Joanna Baillie, had published an account of her ancestor, the Scottish heroine Grizelle Baillie, in her Metrical Legends of 1821;<sup>15</sup> from this, Wilkie developed a series of studies showing the young girl taking food to her father during his concealment (1834. 35-46). Each of these three scenes is an example of Scotland triumphing over political or religious tyranny, and a threat to her identity; each of the three scenes occurs at night, giving Wilkie the greatest opportunity to explore the rich depths of tone which he had admired in Correggio's Notte<sup>16</sup> at Dresden.

From his Scottish literary friends Wilkie received



not only ideas for Scottish subjects, but also, from time to time, direct commissions. These included an illustration for Alan Cunningham's Maid of Elvar,<sup>17</sup> and three studies for Scottish novels.- The Abbot, Old Mortality and Peveril of the Peak.<sup>18</sup> He certainly considered illustrations of scenes in other novels by Scott; the curious multiple drawing (1830. 14) , depicting nine scenes including a Tent Preaching, is possibly an idea for a frontispiece to a publication connected with either Scott or Burns. His continuing interest in the Scottish vernacular poets is recorded in his speech to a gathering of fellow Scots in Rome in 1827,<sup>19</sup> and confirmed by his painting of The Cotter's Saturday Night, and his projected series of illustrations to The Gentle Shepherd. *Initially commissioned in 1821 by Lord Dunstons-*

1830.11  
1830. 15-16

Shortly after returning from abroad, Wilkie completed the two major Scottish subjects which he had left unfinished in 1825. To the detailed figures and Rubensian<sup>19a</sup> composition of John Knox Preaching before the Lords of the Congregation he added more of the rich tone and broad handling he had learned abroad, to bind the picture together. Working rather more successfully in the same way with George IV's Entry to Holyrood - his picture of "portraits in action"<sup>20</sup> - he bound the entire mass of multifarious details into one of the most truly Baroque British compositions.<sup>21</sup> The Earl of Kellie, another hybrid of old and new painting manners, emerged as a most powerful piece of portraiture, a highly wrought but extremely penetrating likeness, which is not hinted



at in the 1825 drawing for the picture (1825.1).

In these three paintings, Wilkie's transition can be recognised in the different stages of the paint work. The transition can be traced more clearly, step by step, through his drawings for subjects which were conceived before his studies abroad, but painted afterwards. An example of this class is his Not at Home: based on a 1814.30 personal experience in 1808,<sup>22</sup> it was first drawn in c1814 and finally painted in 1834, and over this period the character of the disappointed caller changed from a snubbed young man to an impressive cloaked figure with 1824.28-29 the air of a debt collector. there are no boys, and no

The fullest set of evidence of this kind that we have is provided by the series of dated studies for The First Earring. Initially commissioned in 1821 by Lord Dunstonsville as a comparison picture to the ill-fated Wardrobe Ransacked,<sup>23</sup> this painting was not completed until 1835, when two versions were produced for different patrons. The earliest dated drawing for the subject was made in 1825 (1825.5), but it was preceded by at least two others, (1821.6) and (1821.7). These pen and ink compositions are square in format, and similar in design to The Pedlar (1814), or the Newsmongers (1821) and Guess My Name (1821). Each includes four bustling female figures, a crouching figure, an apprehensive young girl, her head turned so that her ear can be pierced, the mother, bending, and an attendant. Of the two, (1821.7) is the more carefully worked out, but both are probably first thoughts for the picture. Barzillai in the Dunstons Collection.

By April 1825, the composition had been pruned to a much simpler and more effective group of three figures, 1825.5 each representing one of the three ages of womanhood. A grandmother leans forward to pierce the ear of the little girl, who stands between her seated mother's knees. The mother clasps her affectionately, pressing her lips compassionately to her daughter's forehead (or whispering comfort into her ear) as the pain of the prick is felt. All three figures are attired in neat middle class dress - the grandmother with her bonnet, the mother in her turban, patterned jacket and gown - but the material is simple; there are no bows, and no sign of lace or jewelry. The background, with a single wooden panel, affords no decoration; the stool on which the mother sits is of the plainest design, and the only still-life objects in the room are a wooden stool on the left, and a utilitarian bowl and spoon lying ready on it. The drawing technique, in pen and ink with a very little wash, is delicate and precise; it has distinct affinities with that used in the preparatory studies for Guess my Name, employing a 1820.80-85 combination of dots, lines and hatchings, and carefully differentiating between the textures of the materials.

On comparing this sketch with the next known dated drawing for the picture (1832.3), Wilkie's increased interest in breadth of handling is evident, for detail is completely subjected to tone. A far greater contrast with the 1825 drawing is, however, provided by the other study for The First Earring in the Huntingdon Collection,

dated 1833 (1833.1), in which the entire character of the picture has been radically altered. The figures are indicated in the height of fashion. A smart, professional ear-piercer, seated efficiently on a low stool, replaces the stooping grandmother. The child's hair is swept up in becoming rolls out of the way, and she shows considerable apprehension, unlike her counterpart in the 1825 drawing, who does not make this overt appeal for sympathy. The mother in the 1833 drawing still offers her arm to the clasp of her child, but stands behind her, looking down with well-bred, detached interest.

This impressive new triangular arrangement of figures appears to have been suggested to Wilkie by a group drawn from life on Jan. 1st, 1832, Unwinding a Skein (1832.1). This clearly precedes the 1832 drawing for The First Earring (1832.3) for the headdress of the mother in the latter corresponds to that of the standing girl in the former, and in the final picture of The First Earring, the very bows on the child's dress are like those in the 1832 drawing Unwinding a Skein.

In a final set of drawings in 1834, and in the oil itself, finished in 1835, a further degree of sophistication completes the revolution in the original subject. The simple geometry of the door in the background of the 1825 drawing is replaced by ornate tapestry hangings; the stools and the elegant wing chair in the 1832 sketch are abandoned; rich and elaborate vessels with bowls and towels replace the wooden bowl, and a little dog parodies the scene of human vanity by scratching its ear.<sup>24</sup> The

refinement of detail is supported by an increase of hauteur displayed by the characters, and well-bred restraint subdues all but the faintest manifestations of emotion. The entire painting has the air of a fashionable picture of aristocratic life, rather than of intimate genre.

The move away from domestic scenes of humble life reflects the great change in Wilkie's own social circumstances during the decade 1830-1840.<sup>25</sup> Although he was as concerned as ever with recording the history of Scotland's people, he had, after the death of his mother, gradually lost touch with the class of people he had used as staffage for his early works. He had, as a matter of principle, painted what he was familiar with,<sup>26</sup> and he thus became gradually obliged to people his pictures with members of the polite society to which he now belonged. Some of these genre paintings of the aristocracy and middle class were successful, such as The Bride's Toilette, which does not pretend to any weighty message, or La Vie Domestique (1836) an amalgamation of ideas from Mary and her Infant Son (1834.50) and The First Earring. Others, like Grace before Meat and The Cottar's Saturday Night, attempt a reversion to the type of historical record of The Penny Wedding, but employing a much more generalised characterisation than formerly. These large scale pastiches of Wilkie's own early paintings are rich in tone, but do not carry the conviction of the early works: by attempting to impart a degree of monumentality to scenes from humble life,

he sacrificed the particular characterisation in which lay the intrinsic interest of such subjects.

His new manner of working was, however, ideally suited to the portrayal of modern heroes. His painting of Napoleon and the Pope (1836) follows the lines of the initial compositional drawing (1828. 10) almost exactly, but the differences are significant. In the painting, the Pope is made more dignified than the cringing figure of the drawing, and Napoleon, noted for the smallness of stature which is faithfully recorded in the drawing, attains heroic proportions in the painting. In his Remarks on Painting in 1836, Wilkie supported the view of Reynolds that it was inappropriate in painting to show a hero with an insignificant appearance, however true to visible reality that might be.<sup>26a</sup>

For the picture, as for others at the time, Wilkie had to rely on portraits by other artists of his deceased heroes. Lawrence's portrait of Pius VII was his reference for Napoleon and the Pope. Raeburn's portrait of Sir David Baird was the basis for the features of Wilkie's next great modern hero,<sup>27</sup> and for his greatest achievement in his new manner: Sir David Baird, finding the body of Tippoo Sahib at the Battle of Seringapatam.<sup>28</sup>

This composition began as a battle scene, with Sir David Baird in the heart of the fray directing the action (1834. 23), but by December 2nd 1834 Wilkie had decided that Baird must totally dominate the scene to "give the idea of a noble figure".<sup>29</sup> This preoccupation with the need for a monumental appearance



in the hero, "the moving principle of all around",<sup>30</sup> was maintained throughout a series of compositional studies leading to a final solution based on Rembrandt's Christ Raising Lazarus.<sup>31</sup> Only when the main lines of this composition were completely determined did Wilkie turn to his usual gathering of detailed material so characteristic of all his historical works.

Sir David Baird was as complicated a picture as The Chelsea Pensioners, and much larger, but the fact that the composition had been carefully worked out in advance enabled Wilkie to alter and develop any part in full consciousness of the overall effect of the modification. For example, when Lady Baird objected<sup>32</sup> to the dogs in the centre of the picture (1835.111), on the grounds that they implied a lack of respect for Tippoo, Wilkie was able to substitute the figure of a drummer boy (1837.34) without disturbing the placing of any of the other figures on the canvas.

All the concern with minutiae was related to the general effect of the picture. A greatcoat was substituted for the cloak because the cloak obscured the figure; a hat with light plumage was preferred to a bare head because it gave Baird added stature; his sword was raised to indicate that action was only just suspended: each alteration was made for the purpose of sustaining the tension, excitement and movement of the battle, and promoting the pictorial significance of Baird himself.

Wilkie's patrons were not all reconciled to his



changed manner of painting. Sir Robert Peel fought a determined rearguard action on behalf of genre subjects of the old style. His letter of April 14th, 1834<sup>33</sup> to Wilkie suggested that Wilkie was having difficulty in finding subjects, and offered the subject of his own Ostade, The Alchemist, for Wilkie's consideration. Sir Willoughby Gordon, commissioning a portrait of the Duke of Wellington in 1835, anxiously and tactfully tried to insist that it must be "finished": "... the man, the time and the subject being all considered together - everything will depend upon the finish given to it, which ought to be as complete as the portrait itself will be important".<sup>34</sup>

At this stage in his career, Wilkie was able to go his own way, without being deflected by advice of this sort. In 1828 he had written: "I could make a good deal of the public, if I could feel somewhat more independent of the public";<sup>35</sup> William IV proved as sympathetic a patron as had George IV, and Wilkie now had the financial base for the independence he had so long desired. With this independence came an increased assurance in dealing with the public. Even when a patron's objections struck at the heart of a major commission,<sup>36</sup> as with Sir David Baird, he was able to accommodate the wishes of his patron with a minimum of alteration. Never again would he get into the position in which he had found himself while working on The Village Festival, with a half-finished canvas full of discrepancies of scale and muddled arrangements

resulting from a lack of adequate preparation.

The drawings for his many portraits of Wellington in this period show Wilkie applying all his ideas on the depiction of a hero to the Duke. He is always represented as if seen from a low viewpoint; this effect is marked in the Hatfield portrait drawing (1833.37), but monumental in the portrait of Wellington with his charger (1833).<sup>37</sup> He also employed rich contrasts of tone. Wilkie now emerged as a splendid portraitist, developing what he had learned from Lawrence, Raeburn and Reynolds.<sup>38</sup> He was even able to make a heroic image out of the portly and gentle William IV.<sup>39</sup> For this monarch Wilkie started a series of subjects on the life of Princess Victoria, but only one was painted. This was the Romantic youthful image of The Queen on Horseback (c.1840),<sup>39a</sup> which incorporated some of the material from his studies of Queen Adelaide on Horseback (1830.3 & 4); it remained unfinished.

Some of his female portraits from these years show a great deal of uncertainty - for example, the Spanish image of Lady Lyndhurst (1830.9 & 10) and the swan-like neck of the Lawrencian Mrs. Moberly.<sup>40</sup> In general, his paintings of young women were not as successful as those of men, which may help to explain why his work was not as popular with Queen Victoria as it had been with his two previous royal patrons. The one relatively successful portrait of Queen Victoria was that of her First Council (1838), where Wilkie had the opportunity to exercise his skill in orchestrating a mass of figures to

form a subject picture.<sup>41</sup>

The Queen's lack of interest in his work gave Wilkie sufficient leisure to review, for the first time for several years, the direction in which his work was developing. He had visited Ireland in 1835,<sup>42</sup> but although some of the drawings which resulted from this trip were spectacularly beautiful (1835. 49 ), the material collected only generated two paintings,

The Peep o' Day Boy's Cabin and The Irish Whiskey Still, 1835.36, 47-54

and even these were criticised by Maria Edgeworth for their lack of authentic Irish character.<sup>43</sup> 1838-17-23

A further trip to Scotland in 1838<sup>44</sup> provided him with material

for Grace before Meat, and the second Knox subject: 1836.28

The Sacrament at Calder House. 1839.7-12

1839.13-23

Wilkie was increasingly turning his attention to religious subjects. After each of his trips abroad he had returned fascinated by the differences between Catholic and Protestant forms of worship. The idea of the

confessional had particularly intrigued him; in

1814 from France, in 1827 from Italy and Spain and in

1835 from Ireland he had brought home drawings of

confessional scenes.<sup>45</sup> Even his portrait of O'Connell

he saw as part of a theme of "the question of Catholic 1836.11-17

and Protestant". He had worked on a set of drawings

about Luther (1835.125 ) and another about Cranmer (1831.8-18).

He had considered the Old Testament theme of Samuel and

Eli in a whole series of drawings (1835. 22-29). These

had been reflected in a series of sketches of Leaving the

Manse, but none of these subjects seemed to satisfy

1813.23-29

Wilkie.

plate79-  
80  
plate235  
plate 321

Searching for an even more significant theme, he turned for inspiration to Rembrandt, whose lighting effects he had already considered deeply<sup>46</sup> and employed in his Scottish history subjects. He must have noted that Rembrandt's biblical pictures were peopled by Jews, which gave them a degree of authenticity not found in the work of any other painter of scriptural subjects.<sup>47</sup> Realising, no doubt, that his own drawing style had become mannered and detached from life, and contemplating a series of biblical illustrations, he determined on a further period of study abroad.

On his way through Europe he studies Rubens and Rembrandt; examines the large scale works of the Nazarenes; and develops a new approach to coloured drawings.

## 2. The problem of first impressions

p.151

Horrified at the poverty and dirt in the Eastern cities, and at the habits and customs of the Arabs, Wilkie is torn between accuracy and propriety in his drawings for Biblical paintings. The racial types, however, correspond to those represented by Rembrandt and he accepts them as true descendants of an ancient race. He is bitterly disappointed at his exclusion from local houses and places of worship, where he had hoped to draw.

## 3. Portrait drawings

p.155

Delayed by the war, Wilkie is forced by the European community in Constantinople. He develops a style

## CHAPTER 11

### The Last Journey

#### Synopsis:

p.149

1. Wilkie decides to go to Palestine and gather authentic material for a series of Scripture subjects for the Houses of Parliament scheme. On his way through Europe he studies Rubens and Rembrandt; examines the large scale works of the Nazarenes; and develops a new approach to coloured drawings.

#### 2. The problem of first impressions

p.161

Horried at the poverty and dirt in the Eastern cities, and at the habits and customs of the Arabs, Wilkie is torn between accuracy and propriety in his drawings for Biblical paintings. The racial types, however, correspond to those represented by Rembrandt and he accepts them as true descendants of an ancient race. He is bitterly disappointed at his exclusion from local homes and places of worship, where he had hoped to draw.

#### 3. Portrait drawings

p.166

Delayed by the way, Wilkie is feted by the European community in Constantinople. He develops a style

of mixed media drawing for finished portraits as he has no time for any portrait painting in oils except for the Sultan and Mehemet Ali. The influence of Lewis' drawings on the development of Wilkie's portrait studies made in Constantinople is discussed.

4. Reformers in the East p.172

A series of portraits of political and religious reformers begins.

5. Dramatic history subjects p.174

Some of the portrait drawings and studies around Constantinople are used for a modern history subject - The Tartar relating the news of the seige of Acre. The sheikh of Hebron links portraiture and history painting in Jerusalem.

6. Genre subjects in the East p.178

The Scribe is the first painting for which Wilkie makes drawings in Constantinople. It is studied very directly from life and not modified from the drawings like the Scripture and history subjects. The genre drawings are selected from major aspects of Asian life which differ from Western ways -

9. Slave Market, Encampment in the Desert, etc. -

but are not artificially romanticised (c.f. William Allan). Tonally they relate to Rembrandt and 17th century art with concentration on figures and with very little background.



7. Drawings of religious subjects p.187

The Jewish question, fundamental to an understanding of the religious and racial situation in Jerusalem, is explained to Wilkie, while he is delayed in Constantinople, by those most closely concerned in the matter. The information supplied by Lord Ponsonby and Sir Moses Montefiore is consolidated by Young - the first British vice-consul in Jerusalem and an evangelical of the same cast of mind as Wilkie - who becomes Wilkie's cicerone and influences his choice of subjects from Jewish life. Wilkie draws and paints Christ at Emmaus, Christ before Pilate and the Nativity. The relationship of drawings to paintings alters. Old Testament scenes are considered in relation to the existing degradation of the Jews.

8. Artists in the East p.208

Wilkie's drawings in the East are related to those of Allan, Lewis and Roberts, considering the effect of the artist's background, their length of stay and personal circumstances upon the urban and rural drawings that each made.

9. Types of drawings; purpose and media p.218

Distinct types of drawings are made by Wilkie in the East; different media are used for differing purposes and the degree of finish varies. The relationship of this group of drawings to Wilkie's

earlier work, and the unified, purposeful and coherent nature of this last group is considered, in assessing Wilkie's final development as a draughtsman.

### SECTION III

"The Church of Rome has been the nurse of the arts, but painting has been its favourite child. The pagans have been better sculptors than the Christians; theirs was a corporeal system, but it was left for painting, with all its undefinable powers over colour and form, over light and darkness, to represent the mysteries of a spiritual revelation. The art of painting seems made for the service of Christianity: would that the Catholics were not the only sect who have seen its advantages!"

D. Wilkie to Dr. Gillespie, Calve,

20th November, 1826 (Gen. II, p. 376).

In August 1840 Wilkie set off for Palestine to see and record the setting and people of the Bible stories. The work he did during his last ten months of life is the most completely recorded that we have, for Wilkie regarded the material as being of especial importance, and took great care of it. The drawings were intended as preparatory material for a great project of a series of Scripture subjects, thus the whole group has a coherence and an inter-relationship that is unusual even in Wilkie's work. As he did not expect to be able to return to the East frequently, if at all, he finished carefully a greater proportion of these preparatory studies than was customary.

### SECTION III

"The Church of Rome has been the nurse of the arts, but painting has been its favourite child. The pagans have been better sculptors than the Christians; theirs was a corporeal system, but it was left for painting, with all its undefinable powers over colour and form, over light and darkness, to represent the mysteries of a spiritual revelation. The art of painting seems made for the service of Christianity: would that the Catholics were not the only sect who have seen its advantages!"

D. Wilkie to Dr. Gillespie, Cults,

20th November, 1826 (Cun.II,p.376).

## Studies in Europe

In August 1840 Wilkie set off for Palestine to see and record the setting and people of the Bible stories. The work he did during his last ten months of life is the most completely recorded that we have, for Wilkie regarded the material as being of especial importance, and took great care of it. The drawings were intended as preparatory material for a great project of a series of Scripture subjects;<sup>1</sup> thus the whole group has a coherence and an inter-relationship that is unusual even in Wilkie's work. As he did not expect to be able to return to the East frequently, if at all, he finished carefully a greater proportion of these preparatory studies than was customary. References to dates when he made particular drawings occur more often in his Journal, which was itself more regularly kept up. Drawings and paintings were often signed and dated, even when slight. Indicative of Wilkie's commitment to his project is his foresight in sending the first batch of work home from Constantinople. Two purpose built cases were ordered, the batch divided, and each sent to Britain in a separate ship, in case of accident.<sup>1a</sup> Ironically the drawings arrived safely in England, but Wilkie died on his way home. Thanks to his meticulous concern we can build up a fairly clear picture of his activities as a draughtsman during this last, most active, period in the East, and deduce what sort of paintings he would have made from them.

Most of the material collected by Wilkie while he

was abroad was in the form of drawings of small domestic or still-life objects. These were sold at Christie and Manson's during the fourth and fifth days of the 1842<sup>2</sup> sale, with the exception of a few drawings which had been retained by the family. Most of these are recorded as lots in the later sale in 1860<sup>3</sup>; others appeared in a public sale for the first time in 1963; the remainder included drawings given away during his travels. Many of the most complete drawings were bought at the 1842 sale and engraved by Nash in Wilkie's Sketches in Turkey, Syria etc., published in 1843. Because of their beauty and exotic character, a considerable number of these late drawings have been preserved and have found their way into public collections. It is therefore possible to study Wilkie's draughtsmanship at first hand in all its aspects at a time of intense concentration and effort, when his purpose in making particular types of studies are unusually clear.

Cunningham offers various reasons for this apparently sudden decision to visit the Holy Land, such as Wilkie's ill health or the unpopularity of his work with the young Queen Victoria.<sup>4</sup> These may have been factors in the timing of his visit, but it is quite certain that Wilkie was fulfilling a strong personal wish to gather material for a series of illustrations of Biblical events central to the Christian faith which would be authentic in every detail. He had always believed that an artist was under a moral obligation to "push his observation far and wide". His friend in Jerusalem, William Young, says of Wilkie at their first meeting in Smyrna

"He spoke as a true pilgrim longing for a realisation of the dreams of his youth. It was delightful to witness the joy of his anticipations ... He told me that a journey to the Holy Land had been with him through life an object which he never abandoned the idea of being at one time or another able to accomplish, and I well remember the expression of his countenance, when on taking leave of us after his first visit he suddenly seemed to feel that he was actually standing as it were on the very threshold of his long hoped-for wishes"... (5) 12.6.47

There was an even more compelling reason which caused Wilkie to uproot himself and to travel East at this particular time. The largest public commission of the century was under discussion and Wilkie, no longer so busy with royal commissions, wished for some part in this project for the decoration of the Houses of Parliament.<sup>5a</sup> In London his ambitions were concealed and his comments about the scheme circumspect (even to his friend Collins he only mentioned his aim to find a mother and child to model for a Nativity) but away from home he was not so careful. In 1847 Young still remembered from conversations with Wilkie:

"The pictorial decorations of the new houses of Parliament was a subject on which I also heard him speak. He was of the opinion that there were many Scripture subjects which would be most appropriate as serving to record God's dealings with nations and to remind our legislators of him by whom princes rule and senators are taught wisdom" (6)

Knowing this, it is easy to understand Wilkie's reference to Rembrandt's Christ before Pilate when he was looking at quite different subjects; his study of Borell's group of The Mocking of Christ, which he admired so much for its powerful expression; and to see why his own work represented the scene of the judgement of Christ by Pilate, rather than the mocking. The evident interest with



which he studied the large scale biblical and historical works of the "Nazarene" painters in Germany, despite his overt dislike of their archaic style, can also be viewed as part of a calculated effort to become himself a painter on a grand scale.

The third and most important reason for the timing of Wilkie's journey was his connection with David Roberts. Roberts was a young Scot whose own interest in the accurate representation of Biblical settings was probably stimulated by an earlier commission to work up drawings by other travellers for the publication by Finden in 1836 of Illustrations of the Bible.<sup>7</sup> To this Turner also contributed some sketches, which were worked up at second hand, and he seems to have been quite happy to employ considerable artistic licence in romanticising scenes which purported to be accurate and informative. This publication was required by a British public whose interest in the Middle East was growing and who wanted visual information - like Catherwood's Panorama of Jerusalem<sup>8</sup> - to supplement the travelogues about the area. Roberts went himself to Palestine and the Middle East in 1839 specifically to make drawings of Biblical topography on the spot: Wilkie had evidently looked closely at these drawings on Roberts' return.<sup>8a</sup> Already Wilkie had shown interest in a reformed type of Biblical subject and had considered, for instance, a series on the History of the Church of Scotland (lot 140 Windus sale 1842)<sup>9</sup>. He now must have wished to be the first to produce serious paintings based on the sort of accurate information

brought back by Roberts. Wilkie was always a shrewd business man, and knew the value of being first in the market: he also knew that the great Old Masters owed their fame to their paintings of religious subjects.

Taking with him "numerous materials for drawing and painting", including a Windsor and Newton improved travelling paintbox,<sup>10</sup> and William Woodburn<sup>11</sup> as companion and assistant, Wilkie began his journey in a leisurely, contemplative manner, revisiting people, collections and galleries in Holland. Some of this deliberate revision of the Old Masters clearly crystallized Wilkie's attitudes to different types of painting and drawing, and prepared his mind for the studies he was to make on his travels. Significantly it is often drawings or types of draughtsmanship within paintings on which he comments, finding for example at the Hague that "One feels wearied with the perfections of the minor Dutch paintings, and finds relief in contemplating even the imperfect sketches and incomplete thoughts of these great Italian masters".<sup>12</sup> Among the great works he looked at were drawings in the Prince of Orange's collection of Michelangelo and Raphael. These he had known when they formed part of the collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence.<sup>13</sup> It is evident that although Wilkie would be looking at exotic details and studying minutely the differences between dress and racial type, it was the broad, monumental approach to subjects with which he would prefer to record them. By 1840 Wilkie admired the gusto and freedom of the Syndics and the power and effect of Jan Six: his earlier masters,

Ostade and Teniers, are never mentioned. When he himself made drawings from recollection of paintings studied in Europe he attempted broad interpretations rather than slavish copies, consciously emulating the manner of Rembrandt's drawings after Raphael or Ruben's studies after Annibale Carracci.

In subject matter too he showed himself selective and critical. Serious subjects rather than minor domestic incidents won his approval. At Amsterdam he studied Rembrandt's Night Watch and although he marvelled at the technique he felt it fell short of perfection because its subject was insignificant. A "fine subject" like Christ before Pilate would have been more worthy of such treatment. This is no casual remark, for within a few months Wilkie was to begin his own version of Christ before Pontius Pilate<sup>14</sup>, a painting where he obviously relied as much on his study of Rembrandt's technique as on local material from Jerusalem. Although he assured Collins before setting off that his Bible was to be his only guide,<sup>15</sup> it is certain that for interpretation Wilkie referred to Rembrandt, studying Jews in the Jewish quarter in Frankfurt as Rembrandt had in Amsterdam, with his understanding and vision of Jewish life in Jerusalem largely coloured by his knowledge of Rembrandt's work.<sup>16</sup>

The Journal makes brief reference to artists like Bol or Cuyp, and the sale catalogues show that Wilkie made sketches from recollection of several Old Masters including the unlikely Ruysdael, but even Correggio was superseded by study of Rubens and Rembrandt. It was to the draughtsmanship of Rubens that he constantly referred in letters

and Journal entries as he travelled south east through Germany. He was not completely adulatory even of Rubens, however. The Crucifixion of St. Peter at Cologne he found lacking in transparency and chiaroscuro, and he criticised the drawing as inaccurate,<sup>17</sup> but he found in Vienna at the Belvedere that the St. Ignatius and St. Xavier showed the "vast power in invention and manual dexterity of Rubens"<sup>18</sup> to be "quite extraordinary in impressive effect in the foreshortened figure of the maniac". Again looking at drawings rather than paintings, in the collection of Archduke Charles it is Correggio, Rembrandt and Rubens who are singled out as fine draughtsmen: particularly "one large battle drawing - the most masterly drawing I ever saw of Rubens".<sup>18</sup>

It is a little curious that Wilkie does not seem to have made sketches from recollection of the many modern European works he saw. He certainly visited eminent Nazarenes to see their "great and meritorious efforts".<sup>19</sup> He was aware that they were breaking important new ground in religious and historical painting but felt the style completely alien, incomprehensible and unsuited to British taste. With the Houses of Parliament project no doubt in mind, Wilkie held detailed discussions with Cornelius about his mode of study for fresco in relation to the drawings and cartoons of Raphael.<sup>20</sup> He evidently felt uneasy about the amount of pupil and assistant work in these large scale paintings,<sup>21</sup> for he was totally unused to directing a team of painters, but he deeply admired the patronage of the crown which made them possible.<sup>22</sup> When Wilkie took the

opportunity of seeing two of his own paintings: The

23

Reading of a Will in Munich and The Bride's Toilette

24

in Vienna - his comments clarify his reserved attitude

to the achievements of contemporaries. He was deliberately

measuring himself against the seventeenth-century masters

and found the severe draughtsmanship of the German

nineteenth-century artists irrelevant. Unabashed after

looking at the draughtsmanship of Rubens and Rembrandt

Wilkie admitted to only transient qualms about The Bride,

attributing its impression of slightness to the contrast

it presented to the minutiae of the minor Dutch artists.

He did not appear to recognise that it suffered from

comparatively weak drawing when held against the great

masters of the 17th century.

Cunningham asserts that "the sketches made by Wilkie

between Munich and Constantinople present little for

description - they were mere hasty indications of what

struck him most - hints or pictorial memoranda for future

use".<sup>25</sup> It is true that Wilkie rarely bothered to record

when he used any of his drawing materials, as far as one

can tell from Cunningham's transcription of his journal

during this period. The exception is an entry on

September 30th at Widdin, Nicopolis, when "I was obliged

to stay below making such drawings as I could".<sup>26</sup> Over

sixty drawings from this part of the journey are mentioned in

the sale catalogues (1840.10 to 1840.77 ). Only four

are illustrated here. These are sufficient to corroborate

Cunningham's statement except in the matter of style, which

shows some interesting features. Together with the drawing

dated January 1 1840 (1840.1) these employ a new method



of interpreting form in quick sketches. They combine a fluid pen line bounding an extremely generalised form, with roughly placed washes - features and prominences later added in pen. The Spanish Priest with Two Children (1828.4a) shows Wilkie using the same technique on his travels more than a decade earlier, to establish a basic arrangement quickly: first with big rough areas of wash, outlining the arched background, head and collar and buttons of the priest in pen, and then developing the head independently of the other areas.

This sweeping treatment with the rather formless, amorphous effect, can be seen developing in the sketches on the Rhine and Danube. It is a method which allows almost indefinite continuous development of small areas within the somewhat abstract framework: the Two Girls in Holland (1840.10) and the Women in a Church (1840.20) provide examples where costume details such as an armband under a shoulder or designs on headdresses are clearly noted while the profiles remain summary - because these people were not of interest to Wilkie for anything but their National dress and manner of worship. The Woman before a Mirror (1840.30) is even sketchier, with an impression of lights and reflections. An intermediate degree of finish is displayed in the group of Four Women at a Table (1840.62), on the Danube. Here the old woman echoes earlier stock types, but the other three are reduced to very simple Fuseli-like shapes (for instance, the girl on the right). The only detailing in this drawing appears in the bonnet lining of the central figure.



of 1835 from the Irish trip, for example the Nun's darling (1835. 32 - 33 ) or the Confessional (1835. 41 - 43), but the Irish drawings are, on the whole, crisper, more defined, and of 'subjects' rather than simply figures, as in the British Museum drawings from Ireland. Neither group contains much that is consciously attractive or complete.

If the double portrait drawing (1840. 44) in the National Gallery of Scotland belongs to this group and was executed during Wilkie's stay in Vienna, it shows him trying out a new treatment for detailed water-colour sketches in a rather laboured way.<sup>27</sup> The few drawings that we can consult that were executed between August and September 1840 show Wilkie trying to get the maximum use from the coloured drawing, and studying the combined media of pen and water-colour as a versatile, speedy and comprehensive record maker. At first he experienced some difficulty in mastering this method as he was out of practice in making such memoranda of transient impressions.

plates 364  
-369

As usual Wilkie's choice of subject lent towards people who interested him because of their occupation, facial type, dress, or activity, or because they were involved in some incident or formed a group representing varied ages. Most of these drawings seem to have been comparatively unattractive to buyers in the 1842 and 1860 sales compared with Jewish subjects, and they reached only prices of one or two pounds. Where Wilkie had time to draw undisturbed, e.g. High Mass at

1840.56  
1840.44  
1841.80  
1840.72-73  
1840.67  
1840.78

eg 1840.10-29

Vienna (price £4/15/- ) or where he was particularly interested e.g. with the "wild beauty and dramatic historical associations" of the Castle of Durenstein, (£4/16/-) he apparently made sketches that were more complete. Predictably, the most popular of all his drawings were the portraits like the Porter at Pesth, "a fine drawing" selling for £11.0.6 (1840 . 56).

1840.42

1840.34-35

Wilkie behaved like an ordinary tourist on the beautiful Danube, admiring scenery round Budapest and arranging a private conducted tour to see the building of the splendid metal bridge connecting, for the first time, Buda with industrial Pesth.<sup>28</sup> As he neared the East, however, his mind turned more to the romantic, the exotic and the strange. He was deeply impressed by the Public Baths at Budapest (1840 . 57 , 58.) with their hot springs and Turkish architectural interiors: "like the infernal regions, sulphurous and dark; the most remarkable sight I ever saw"<sup>29</sup>

From this time on, similar exclamations of surprise and wonder punctuate his journal entries, culminating in the first sight of Jerusalem. The purpose of his visit took a more prominent place in Wilkie's thoughts as he was much more often in the company of Jews and Turks also travelling by steamer to Palestine, and was subject to exciting and unfamiliar happenings like the call to worship to the Turks at Widdin. Even at Pest he noticed changes - writing to Thomas on 24th September "The dresses we see are still European, but verging strongly on the Turkish or Asiatic: the jacket becomes short, the

trousers more ample, and the hat more turban-like".<sup>30</sup>

He felt the sudden lack of art and had to make a conscious effort to adjust from academic study of the Old Masters to instead "contemplate the sort of life and nature that has scarcely yet been the subject of art".<sup>31</sup>

He was obviously entranced and wrote to Helen on September the 27th about the Turks: "their character and dresses are the most splendid to be imagined. This is felt

as new life, and as subject matter every hour of the day for the pen and pencil".<sup>32</sup> He was so much more aware

of the value of his drawings as records of new sights that on the 30th of September Wilkie began an irregular but invaluable set of journal entries about his drawing and painting activities, on which much of our knowledge of his journey is based.

Morocco in 1832, Wilkie was from the first entranced by Asiatic racial types. In spite of the dirt and poverty which so much upset him, he felt that in the Roman built city of Constantinople he had come to the source of civilisation. "The Arabs", he wrote to Colling "look as if they had never changed since the time of Abraham".<sup>3</sup>

When Wilkie allowed himself to talk like a painter the word was submerged in the romantic. "Everything that meets the eye is imposing; the colours light up the picture and while they illuminate... even the darkness, they are prevented from being hideously and gaudy by the deep, greasy richness of tone which we can never fail to convey to the most discordant materials".<sup>4</sup>

Delacroix had found Moorish classical types among the Moors and had been content to illustrate festival scenes

## 2. The problem of first impressions

Touching for an hour at Rustchuk, Wilkie - rather unwell but eager to explore - went for his first view of the Turks at home. The tremendous shock that he then received, on seeing the prevailing poor conditions in which this ancient race were "all living from hand to mouth with dresses splendid and dwellings wretched yet still recalling in all their doings a race and a time from which civilisation had sprung"<sup>1</sup>, coloured all his further thinking about Biblical subjects for painting, and confused the aims of his journey. "So uncouth, unexpected and strange was every object"<sup>2</sup> that Wilkie took some time to adjust to his surroundings when he reached Constantinople and settled in Pera, a suitable suburb. Like Delacroix at Morocco in 1832, Wilkie was from the first entranced by Asiatic racial types. In spite of the dirt and poverty which so much upset him, he felt that in the Roman built city of Constantinople he had come to the source of civilisation. "The Arabs", he wrote to Collins "look as if they had never changed since the time of Abraham".<sup>3</sup> When Wilkie allowed himself to talk like a painter the sordid was submerged in the romantic. "Everything that meets the eye is imposing; the colours light up the picture and while they illuminate .. even the darkness, they are prevented from being tinselly and gaudy by the deep, greasy richness of tone which use and wont never fail to convey to the most discordant materials".<sup>4</sup> Delacroix had found Homeric classical types among the Moors and had been content to illustrate factual scenes

quite unlike his earlier exotic Sardanapalus. Wilkie, on the other hand, was allegedly looking for facts but was hampered by romantic expectations and overawareness of the taste of his British public. It is when Wilkie thought of how to communicate what he saw to this Victorian audience that he was filled with misgivings about "what will serve and what will not serve".<sup>5</sup> He soon began to revise his ideas about recording facts and reviewed his belief that modern manners in the Middle East still reflected ancient practices among the patriarchs. When he thought in terms of modern genre subjects, rather than of religious subjects with their taboos and expectations, however, he responded with wholehearted enthusiasm to his surroundings:- "All that we look upon in form colour and in texture seems fashioned and disposed as if it were made to be painted".<sup>6</sup> It is already clear that drawings for religious subjects would be subject to the criterion of suitability, and might reflect Wilkie's confusion, anxiety and self consciousness in tightness of execution.

There were to be further setbacks and a series of disappointments. Firstly Wilkie could not get to Palestine because of the continuing war between the Turks and Egyptians.

"The country was at that time in a very unsettled state, and the effects of the war were only very gradually subsiding - indeed, Palestine was actually in a state of disruption, from the vicinity of Ibrahim Pacha's retreating armies". (7).

Determined not to waste his time Wilkie set out to make drawings of Turkish scenes, but suffered bitter disappointment on finding himself excluded from Moslem places of



worship and from local homes.<sup>7a</sup> Debarred from sketching his usual subject matter, he hoped to find suitable scenes in public places of Constantinople. He had been "much struck by the beauty of Turkish women"<sup>8</sup> glimpsed in the city centre on a visit with Captain Leigh on November 10th, but found that the Moslem reluctance to be drawn and the <sup>8a</sup> "degraded state of women" (in Purdah) proved insuperable barriers. Throughout his travels this remained a problem. Even in Jerusalem Wilkie found that

"As these people are in too savage a condition to appreciate the meaning of painting, they are generally too ignorant and suspicious to be induced to allow themselves to be portrayed on paper or canvas". (9)

William Collins' letter, intended as comfort in case Wilkie did not reach Palestine, must have rubbed salt into the wound:-

material "What you have already seen must afford, in your hands, highly attractive to a public now more interested in eastern matters than during any former period". (10)

For as late as December 30th, Wilkie was complaining to his friend Samuel Rogers -

"There is a want of something in the whole Turkish system as an object for painting .... what is to be done in painting by the face that is not seen, or with the heroes and heroines that cannot with propriety be shown in the same picture?" (11)

Frustrated expectations were only one aspect of Wilkie's reactions to Constantinople, however, for during his protracted stay he met with a great deal of kindness from resident Europeans, whose hospitality enabled him to settle and to gradually accommodate himself to the habits of the place. He wrote to Sir Peter Laurie during the second month at Pera:



"One delightful source of satisfaction is the society we find of our own countrymen. Lord Ponsonby has been kind and hospitable and so has our most excellent Consul-General, Mr. Cartwright. I have also been much gratified in meeting here with one of your city friends, Sir Moses Montefiore, whose mission, so much noticed, has been of the most interesting kind".<sup>11a</sup>

The good offices of these men were not only to facilitate the practical aspects of Wilkie's journey, but greatly to affect his portrait, genre and religious drawings and his choice of subjects. Wilkie's comments of frustration and disappointment due to the delay in his progress were largely due to the feeling that his time of leave was running out before he had accomplished the object of his journey - to gather material for Scriptural painting. His initial excitement consequently revived when he set out again, with an extended leave of absence from Queen Victoria, for "those districts of the East where all bear the stamp of those characters and events the most interesting in the history of man".<sup>12</sup>

By the 25th February Wilkie was again the romantic adventurer, longing to be "all eye and all ear" to record impressions,<sup>12a</sup> not worried about aspects of what he saw which might shock Europeans. To his relief he found Beirut with "buildings more substantial and people more historic than any we have yet seen".<sup>13</sup> Young, the vice-counsul of Jerusalem, met him there and found him "full of enthusiasm; and although he complained of not having been very well, yet his heart was with him in his work, and evidently overflowing with the pleasing visions of what was before him".<sup>14</sup> The climax of his journey was certainly the sight of Jerusalem. He exclaimed in each

letter and journal entry about the beauty of different aspects of the city in powerful simple language, without his usual verbosity. The constant stimulation of new places and people could not fail to move him and to develop his incipient romanticism. Although his response was weaker and more restrained than that of Delacroix to Morocco, Wilkie revelled in the wild country through which he travelled, the romantic Greek convent, the surprising Dead Sea, Bethlehem full of associations, overhung valleys dark like the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Keeping his revised aims clearly before him he determined to "study the habits and customs of the people, and to compare them, and also the features of the country, with the descriptions given in Scripture".<sup>15</sup>

family, the Academy, the public, at the top or in the street. He never carried into his work the usual feeling of being a man of the world, or of being a man of the world - even if they were middle-class individuals. He then adapted their expressions from the drawings he made from life, to suit the subject of his painting. While in the Middle East, Wilkie intended to pursue this practice but it proved impossible in a hostile country. His solution to this serious impediment to his work was of portrait: i.e. the familiar, conventional, conventional portrait with the character, pose and dress of the subject. This condensed arrangement also made the most of his limited space.

In Constantinople, Smyrna, Toulon and Jerusalem Wilkie was entertained by John Lubbock and Charles, the patrons of the arts, who were particularly pleased to have

### 3. The Last Journey: Portrait drawings

Within the framework of Wilkie's last drawings portraiture has a much wider application than was usual in his work up to 1840. All his life Wilkie had made beautiful, straightforward, finished portrait drawings, and in addition had studied from living models for the characters in his large compositions rather than simply imagining character types. In a sense these too are portraits; for example Mulready is recognisable in Duncan Gray, Constable in Columbus at La Rabida and Helen Wilkie in many works. Wilkie had settled in his mind's eye the general outline of each character and had then gone out looking for suitable individuals among friends, family, the Academy school models, at the Zoo or in the street. He never shrank from asking people met casually to bring their dogs in to be drawn or to pose themselves - even if they were middle-class individuals. He then adapted their expressions from the drawings he made from life, to suit the subject of his painting. While in the Middle East, Wilkie intended to pursue this practice but it proved impossible in a Moslem context. His solution to this serious impasse was to combine both types of portrait i.e. the finished, commissioned, presentation portrait with the character, pose and dress study. This condensed arrangement also made the most of his limited leave.

In Constantinople, Smyrna, Beyrout and Jerusalem Wilkie was entertained by Ambassadors and Consuls, natural patrons of the arts, who were particularly pleased to have

a painter among them in places where image making was not customary. Wilkie was asked to make a portrait of the wife of Niven Moore, British consul in Beyrout but answered that this would take too long. He was willing, he said, to make two careful drawings, providing that she dressed in Bedouin costume.<sup>1</sup> This was the first of (1841.35) the amalgamated type of study, which he continued to make when he reached Jerusalem even though indigenous models could be arranged. Mr. Young, the British vice-consul, remembered the same procedure when his wife posed -

"He presented me with a drawing of Mrs. Young, which he suggested should be taken in the native costume of the better class of the Christian inhabitants, that it might not only be a pleasing recollection to himself of his own visit to the Holy city, but that it might provide a future token of our identity with a country so full of sacred interest". (2) (1841.86)

As he had been employed as official portrait painter to the royal family for ten years Wilkie was used to the idea of duplicates of painted portraits for diplomatic purposes: he now applied this procedure to drawings.<sup>3</sup> This was making a virtue out of necessity, for he had only time to paint two oil portraits: one of the Sultan and the other of Mehemet Ali, in his capacity of Queen's principal painter.<sup>3a</sup> Bearing in mind Wilkie's comments about the Night Watch made on his way to the East,<sup>4</sup> one is left with the impression that Wilkie had been recently reading Reynolds on the hierarchy of subject matter,<sup>5</sup> and that he felt straightforward portraiture to be relatively unworthy - for an academic artist. Whatever his reasons he was able, by insisting that his models wore Eastern dress, and by making a copy of each for himself, to

consolidate useful friendships, please his influential sitters and add extremely useful detailed studies to his store of Eastern material. Although these drawings suffer from the drawback of being posed hybrids - for Western women seated eastern fashion on the ground in eastern costume tend to look a little stiff - they do record valuable information about female dress in an area where Wilkie found it impossible to obtain female models from among the local Muslim inhabitants.

Of all the drawings from the last journey, these most closely resemble the careful studies of J.F. Lewis.<sup>5a</sup> This is not only because Wilkie spent more time on them - for example at least two sittings were required for the study of Mrs. Moore<sup>6</sup> (1841. 35 - 37) - but is also partly due to their colour and style. John Lewis had turned up while Wilkie was waiting impatiently in Constantinople, from Italy, Greece and Smyrna ... "making numbers of drawings" which Wilkie rather tartly described to Collins as "most clever".<sup>7</sup> It is probably too much to claim that Wilkie there and then decided to emulate the detailed type of costume study which predominated in Lewis' work (such as the Ashmolean Study of a girl in Neapolitan dress), but if one looks at the first of Wilkie's own series of detailed portrait studies, the Three Young Ladies of Therapia (1840 . 86. ), dated 16th October just after Wilkie saw Lewis' Greek drawings, one finds already a similarity. The Greek sitters are, however, portrayed in British dress, and the costume is scantily treated. Gradually when Wilkie had time to see more of



Lewis' drawings<sup>8</sup> the concentration in Wilkie's drawings becomes centred more on characteristically Oriental poses and costumes. In addition to Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Young, Wilkie portrayed Admiral Walker (1840 . 117.) "in his Turkish uniform", Walker's daughter in Oriental dress, (1840. 118.), Captain Leigh, (1840. 105.) in a fez, and Madame Guiseppina Vitale (1840. 121, 122) - at least twice, each time in a different dress and posed sitting Eastern fashion. The increased costume detail in these drawings must be in part a result of Wilkie seeing Lewis' drawings and noting how valuable such detail would be when painting in England with no other visual references.<sup>9</sup> The type of drawing is remarkably similar in Lewis' Ashmolean study of two girls in Turkish costume ( Pl. 405) and Wilkie's Mrs. Moore (1841. 35. ) at the Fitzwilliam. Both start with a pencil outline and work up through bright watercolours round the head dress and still life objects, before finishing with white highlights, leaving some middle areas untouched. Wilkie's ability to assimilate new ideas in drawing becomes clear if his Mrs. Moore is compared with the similar type of portrait by Lewis of Lady Holland ( Pl. 406a). For once Lewis' drawing appears quite commonplace beside the rather glamorous image of Wilkie's Mrs. Moore.

Some of Wilkie's detailed portrait studies have been, quite reasonably, confused with work by Lewis.<sup>10</sup> One such was the portrait of the Muleteer, now in the Prints (1841.38) and Drawings collection at the National Gallery Edinburgh.

While in the hands of a well informed private collector, this magnificent drawing was attributed to Lewis, partly on the grounds of subject matter, because Lewis made far more studies of this type of travelling Arab than did Wilkie, but also on grounds of style. The line is crisp, though not as geometric as Lewis's, the colour is unusually clear and bright, the detail more complete and the entire drawing more finished than is usual with Wilkie. Where it differs absolutely from Lewis is in the dramatic attitude of the figure - clearly intended as a figure of a wondering disciple (at the scene of a miracle or the Transfiguration (1841 . 93.) perhaps), and in the expression of the head. The Arab who accompanied Wilkie's party to the Dead Sea was another such portrait (1841. 58.) undoubtedly incorporated into the painting of the Sheikhs encampment at Jericho.<sup>11</sup> It was also a fine likeness, if one can believe the author of the Wilkie Gallery, who claimed to have employed the same man when he made the journey to Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup>

How far Wilkie had matured his ideas for the paintings into which these figures were to be incorporated is unclear. From what Young said in his letter of 1847, one suspects that Wilkie, after his painting of the Sheikh of Hebron (1841 . 85.) and his loosely composed Rabbi Teaching (1841. 64 .) (Joseph Zamero), felt that he had gathered so much portrait material that he desperately needed to sort the entire collection into groups before he himself was sure which subjects he could compose from his portrait drawings. He had early

in Constantinople found Halico Mirza, the Persian Prince, an ideal model for Christ, and had used his drawings of A Persian Prince, his servant bringing him a sherbet (1840.95) for Christ before Pilate. He had used the straightforward portrait drawing (1840.96) of the Prince for Christ at Emmaus. He had found a Jewish mother and child in Jerusalem - again among the contacts of his European friends - and had incorporated their portraits into a Nativity scene (1841.82). In these subjects he had set out with preconceived ideas about the type of face he wished to portray - the Christ noble, the Virgin young and beautiful - and had made his choice based upon a Victorian European taste. His other careful portrait drawings were random in the sense that he could not go out and choose for himself, but was obliged to rely on his English contacts to select 'typical' Jews or Arabs for his models from among their servants and friends.

Not all Wilkie's Eastern portraits were made to serve a double duty. The substantial drawing of Cartwright, British Consul at Constantinople, with his Albanian servant (1840.88), is a straightforward twin portrait very like the composition established by West in his portraits of American commanders with their Red Indian guides. Wilkie had already experimented with double portrait drawings [e.g. (1840.44)], although not in such an elaborate way. More than one figure gave him the opportunity to portray a relationship between the figures, and thus to get more subject into the sketch, as in his William IV with Victoria (1832.8).

#### 4. Reformers in the East

Forming a link between portraiture and modern history subjects is the fascinating gallery of drawings representing some of the major figures involved in political and religious reform in Syria between 1840 and 1841. There are, of course, the dramatis personae of the recent Turkish-Egyptian conflict: the Sultan Abdel Mejid (1840.124-127) and (1841 . 1 .) and the rebellious Mehemet Ali (1840 . 115 .) and (1841 . 108 .), and several sheikhs and janissaries - the lesser leaders in the conflict.<sup>1</sup> The most developed of these drawings was of the Sheikh of Hebron<sup>2</sup> (1841 . 85.) A violent man, involved in conflicts all his life and an aggressive, repressive ruler of his tribe, Abdur-Rahmān was nevertheless a local celebrity, and at that time on good terms with the British. It was Abdur-Rahmān who had, encouraged by the British, risen for the final vital revolt against Ibrāhīm Pacha, and helped the allies to victory. He was rewarded with the position of tax-collector in the Hebron district. In spite of this colourful military background the drawing portrays the Sheikh at home among family and servants relaxing with a pipe, quite different from the image of the British naval hero Admiral Walker. 1840.117

Among those connected with cultural developments who met and talked with Wilkie and offered him hospitality, were the British Ambassador, Lord Ponsonby<sup>3</sup> and the rich businessman, Sir Moses Montefiore<sup>4</sup>.

Wilkie did not draw them but through the good offices of these men and of Canning<sup>5</sup> and Cartwright<sup>6</sup>, (of whom he made a penetrating study), Wilkie met many others concerned in the education programmes for Jews and Protestants, and in the protection of these minority groups. These included missionaries (particularly American missionaries like Beadle<sup>7</sup> who could speak Arabic) and consuls with their wives, as well as Arab Dragomen and Jewish leaders such as Joseph Zamero,<sup>8</sup> all of them people of influence. In particular the Sultan's Grand Vizir, Mustapha Resid Pasa,<sup>9</sup> was a great reformer who aimed to improve the laws of property and justice in the Sultan's Empire. Although Wilkie did not fully appreciate his importance, it was largely due to this man that the remarkable edict of the Sultan dated 3rd November 1839 had been passed, in which non-Muslims were promised for the first time in Ottoman history, equality before the law. Resid was to suffer disgrace and dismissal many times for supporting these bold measures, but at the time Wilkie made his portrait study he was working successfully towards the same goal as Ponsonby, Sir Moses and William Young. Thanks to the efforts of these men there was a certain amount of stability among the lives of the Jews in Jerusalem while Wilkie was there; religious services were allowed, so he was able to make studies for some of his most interesting ideas.



## 5. Dramatic History Subjects

Blank disappointment characterised Wilkie's reactions to the locations of classical history. He found enough of interest to draw a Scene on a river near the birthplace of Homer, (1841 . 6.) and Mount Ida and the plains of Troy, (1841 . 11.) but found Troy itself "a miserable place"<sup>1</sup> and proved sarcastically unmoved by the romance of Byron's swimming exploits at the Hellespont. Haydon would have allowed himself to be stimulated by the associations of these scenes, however much they had altered, but it was modern figures and incidents which had the power to stir Wilkie's imagination in the field of history.<sup>2</sup>

Having associated with some of the greatest British heroes Wilkie had developed an interest in international politics. Although irritated by delays in his travels caused by the war of the Turks and Egyptians, he could not fail to feel involved when the British entered the fray. The second oil picture that he began to work on in the East on November 19th, was that of the Tartar relating in a Turkish Cafe the Victory of St. Jean D'Acre. "The glorious account" of the conquest of St. Jean D'Acre had come only two days earlier.<sup>2a</sup> Wilkie immediately took a composition on which he had been working the previous fortnight, The Turkish Coffee House, (1840 . 102 .) and remodelled it from a straightforward coffeehouse scene to a more dynamic grouping. To do this he incorporated some studies from a barber's shop on the left and a modification of

his very highly finished drawing of the actual officer Tartar to the Queen's Messenger (1840.114a) who had brought the news. His hat and boots are altered to appear more light and decorative in the picture, his attitude is more animated and intense than in the study, both factors which focus attention more closely upon him.

Wilkie's journals made many references to the wars and to views of smoking ruins at Jericho,<sup>3a</sup> or war damage at Beyrout.<sup>3b</sup> He made drawings of the Field of Alexandria, and, as Roberts had done before him,<sup>3</sup> of St. Jean D'Acre, but does not seem to have considered an actual battle scene. That he had recently been contemplating battle compositions is implied by lot 53 in the 1860 sale where of three drawings: a field of battle; a charge; and an attack of cavalry composed apparently upon De Vinci's design of the Battle of the Standard, one is dated January 27th 1840 (1840 . 2 a), (1840 . 2.b), (1840. 2 c).<sup>1840.113</sup>  
<sup>1840.114</sup> Wilkie knew the "beautiful drawings of the locality" being made by an artist sent by the Emperor of Austria (whose troops had helped successfully to besiege Acre) to paint a battle scene<sup>4</sup>, and may have preferred not to compete on unfamiliar ground. The composition of Sir David Baird at Seringapatam had begun as a more active battle incident, but, as always, this type of scene had been abandoned at a very early stage. So it was with the Tartar picture, which, based on a sociable grouping, turned out to be quite similar in concept to the Waterloo painting, or even the News mongers of twenty years earlier, with the

attention of a varied group focused on a newsbearer. The coffee house setting was most appropriate, for all news was exchanged and discussed in these shops in Constantinople. Writing to Thomas, Wilkie describes the picture as having "a variety of figures listening - a Turk, a Greek, an Armenian and a Jew; but has this disadvantage, that, as a Turkish subject, no female could be introduced".<sup>5</sup> To counteract this lack of female models Wilkie attempted to achieve variety and interest in his picture by introducing a wide range of figures in differing poses. Many of these figures are based on those in The Turkish Coffee House, and are clearly recognisable.

News about the wars filtered through to Constantinople and Wilkie followed eagerly reports of "this stirring time".<sup>5a</sup> "Judah is already set free and Jerusalem delivered" he wrote on 1st December, "...we see daily both prisoners and successful warriors fresh from the scene of action".<sup>5b</sup> He does not seem to have drawn these men, but Admiral Walker<sup>6</sup>, an active naval commander whom Woodburn had met and befriended, was obviously cast at once by Wilkie in the role of The Modern Hero. By the time Walker left on 1st January to reclaim the Turkish fleet from Alexandria, Wilkie had completed at least one drawing of him. This study (1840.117), for which Walker wore "his Turkish uniform and sabre", is of a man of action, aggressively standing with sabre drawn, and turning slightly in order to give the impression of vigour. The portrait was apparently like, for the Sultan was particularly pleased with it. This new friend took pleasure in making Wilkie's journey easier, sending him encouraging news of the

political situation. When Walker returned with "the very golden fleece of victory - 18 sail of the Turkish fleet, just brought back from Alexandria"<sup>7</sup> and anchored in the "romantic and magnificent harbour"<sup>7a</sup> of Marmorice, Wilkie went to see the moonlit harbour and made a drawing (1841.27). He had also been interested by the personality of the Egyptian leader Mehemet Ali, and had borrowed from Mr. Alison a miniature of the prince to copy.<sup>8</sup> (1840 . 115 .). It is possible that he contemplated some heroic work featuring both characters; no drawings exist to support this view however, and the familiar mixture of genre and history in the Tartar picture remained Wilkie's only venture into the realm of war artist.

visited the ancient Hippodrome, the Mosque of St. Sophia, and even the Seraglio of the Sultan (1840.45).

His efforts to seek out information about the court and seraglio suggest that he would have taken the idea of his slight black lead sketch of the bathing room of the Seraglio (1840 . 92 .) further, perhaps using some of the cavernous effects which had so impressed him in the baths at Fez.

He certainly may have intended to do something further with his studies in the Slave Market, where he "was much interested". Fascinated by the appearance of the slaves, he made a "very fine" drawing of a scene from the slave market, Slave Market (1840 . 94 .) and of A Slave (1840 . 95 .). What Wilkie did

6. Genre subjects in Constantinople and Jerusalem

Within a week of arriving at Constantinople<sup>1</sup> Wilkie had found one of his most interesting subjects, a "Dervise reading a love letter to a Turkish and Greek girl" later known as The Scribe or the Turkish Letter Writer. Although he would complain in one letter of a lack of "subject and event"<sup>2</sup> that might appeal to a British audience, he claimed in others that he was constantly at work "Painting and drawing from such selection as can be made from the exuberance of paintable matter every day presents us with".<sup>3</sup> Instead of fruitlessly regretting his exclusion from domestic situations he turned to the public places for ideas. He made drawings in the Bazaar, (1840 . 82), and visited the ancient Hippodrome, the Mosque of St. Sophia, and even the Seraglio of the Sultan (1840 . 92). His efforts to seek out information about the court and seraglio suggest that he would have taken the idea of his slight black lead sketch of the Bathing room of the Seraglio (1840 . 92 . ) further, perhaps using some of the cavernous effects which had so impressed him in the baths at Pesth. He certainly must have intended to do something further with his studies in the Slave Market, where he "was much interested". Fascinated by the appearance of the slaves, he made a 'very fine' drawing of a scene from the slave market Bargaining for a Circassian Slave (1840 . 84 . ) and of A Female in the Slave Market (1840 . 85 . ). When William Allan



had been in Constantinople the "most rare objects from Circassia", white Circassian girls often no more than children, were kept in a special booth.<sup>4</sup>

Wilkie seems to have selected this bargaining scene carefully to concentrate on the essence of such an example of defenceless beauty and youth being cruelly sold into Harem life. What he thought about the situation is not even hinted at in his writings. When he was taken to see the typical fate of a slave, like the one represented in his bargaining scene, he reported absolutely factually about her luxurious surroundings and expressionless features.<sup>5</sup> Her extreme youth seems to have touched him, but he passed no judgement, remarking only that it was a singular and characteristic scene. When his own life style and religious convictions are taken into account it seems certain that he must have been disturbed to find the man he had chosen as model for his Christ kept such a girl as mistress. In this case he seems deliberately to have rejected the opportunity of representing an intimate domestic scene complete with an elderly black eunuch, a young black slave girl and a white Turkish woman, preferring instead to develop the idea of a more public scene of injustice in the Slave Market (1840 . 84). His journals record other scenes that one feels he must have sketched, such as the Turkish fair which interested him on his way to Konstanjez,<sup>6</sup> or the village at Bonobat to which he paid a special visit.<sup>7</sup> The potential subject

of wild unfriendly Egyptians bivouacking in St. Sophia on the other hand, may have been too "uncouth, unexpected and strange" for Wilkie to grasp.<sup>8</sup>

Both Lewis and Roberts responded more naturally to this wild foreign element in the Arab way of life than did Wilkie, who was prone to identify similarities among the brotherhood of man rather than to enjoy differences. One ethnic scene was contemplated by Wilkie and carried into oil. This was his Arab Sheikhs encamped near Jericho - a subject treated already by Roberts in one of his barest and most desolate desert drawings.<sup>9</sup>

This subject sprang from Wilkie's own direct experience and is a record of the exciting journey he made from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea in order to take scientific measurements for Harvey.<sup>10</sup> (1841 . 56 .). It was hardly a war picture, although Wilkie mentioned hearing guns fired at a distance in the mountains and was himself armed while his companions would have recently been involved in the fighting. At Jericho his band found a heap of ruins, part of it still smoking with fire after the "depredations of Ibrahim Pacha and his army on their retreat".<sup>11</sup> The strangeness of his situation make a great impact on Wilkie; he suffered considerable discomfort, but was captivated by the romance of camping in the desert. His descriptions of the scene he was shortly to paint are direct and colourful:

"The strange appearance of our companions, and newness of the situation gave completely the air and impression of romance ... Awoke at four o'clock: found the men outside, with a blazing fire, and all preparing to start:

they were enjoying some refreshments, and, with their dress, arms and horses, relieved by the extreme darkness of the night, produced the wildest effect" (12)

He gave a relatively subdued account to Helen but to Thomas he waxed eloquent:

"We made a showy and most picturesque appearance. We lodged in the tent; but our escort kindled a large blazing fire in front, and lay round it. Long before daylight we were all astir, and our tent was struck; a large shrubbery was set on fire to give us light, and after tying everything again on our cattle, we were once more on the move. The road from the valley of the Jordan rose most precipitous, rock after rock, hill and mountain to be climbed....." (13)

The painting of the Encampment is lost and the only drawing (1841 . 56 . ) is rather bare but Wilkie evidently intended to include the figures of the three Sheikhs and four armed men as portraits. Shortly after his return of March 20th Wilkie had a sitting from the Bethlehem Sheikh who had accompanied his party to the Dead Sea. This drawing is unlike any of the other portrait studies in its interpretation of an indomitable, aggressive wild character (1841 . 58.). He fits the description given by Wilkie of his janizary from Jaffa to Jerusalem: "a lean lank Arab such as<sup>14</sup> Salvator Rosa used to paint", and he is certainly thought of in terms of his role in the encampment subject. The Bethlehem Sheikh was elderly rather than young, however, showing that Wilkie, even in this romantic scene, was looking to the character types of late Rembrandt. It was probably for this painting that Wilkie kept the Syrian tent and appurtenances<sup>15</sup> which were sold among his effects in 1842. He may also

have intended to adapt his study of two camels at Smyrna for this encampment scene.

1841.14

While the Jericho encampment may be the most powerful and dramatic of Wilkie's conceptions he evidently intended to make genre paintings of subjects of a more domestic nature. To this end he systematically gathered items of Turkish dress, furnishings, cooking utensils and smoking apparatus<sup>16</sup>. Some of this material must have come from the "public auction of..a Pacha retired", which he attended:<sup>17</sup> he also made special expeditions, for example to Galata on November 26th "for parts of a dress and coffee utensils".<sup>18</sup>

Compared with the extensive collection of Eastern material, both books, prints and objects, made by his friend William Allan,<sup>19</sup> Wilkie's collection is small and selective. The difference in type of collection reflects the different nature of their compositions. Wilkie's are concentrated arrangements needing only a limited amount of still life material; Allan's are diffuse with a riot of variety in dress and setting.

Romantic scenery attracted Wilkie, but he did not have the opportunity to familiarise himself with the intrinsic character of the Eastern desert landscape. It was rather the accepted idea of romantic imagery from the West which continued to rouse his admiration. The Site of the battle of St. George and the dragon,<sup>20</sup> or the picturesque entrance to Rhodes harbour in evening light; (1841 . 25. ) an eclipse,<sup>21</sup> "one of the most remarkable sights I ever saw", or his first view of

1841.28

the Holy Land at sunrise (1841 . 29.) affected him most deeply. Even in the desert his concepts were Western. He recognised the romance of the dreadful precipices and stupendous ravine which he descended by moonlight or the awesome gloom of the oppressive Dead Sea, like the Valley of the shadow of Death, but he did not write of the wandering daily life of the desert tribes. He did not have the opportunity indeed to study it. His preconceived ideas of romance prevented him from exploring the peculiar bleaching light effects of full day; when he brought in Mehemet Ali from a garden setting to an interior<sup>22</sup>, he was deliberately rejecting the intense brilliance of natural lighting for a much more European tonality. Unlike Lewis he avoided the 'showy', preferring shadow to light. Even when Young describes Wilkie's first view of the patriarchs, "half of them brilliantly illuminated with a sunbeam, and the other half shrouded in the obscurity of an almost nightlike shadow, which was neither light nor darkness"<sup>23</sup> it does not seem to be the quality of light which Wilkie studies - his gesture then of shading his eyes against the light is symptomatic of his entire approach to tone in the East.

The major group of genre drawings of the last journey were certainly for The Scribe. William Allan had already painted an Eastern version of the "Love Letter" theme which was quite different in concept from Wilkie's. The catalogue entry of the Allan sale describes it:

1840.78  
1840.98-  
1840.101  
1841.2



"the black slave obeyed his master's orders, and silently stole upon the poor Moorish girl at the moment when, having released from its cage the feathered partner of her captivity she bound the packet round its neck, and trusted to the hand of Providence the letter".<sup>24</sup> In Wilkie's straightforward and concentrated group of The Scribe writing a love-letter for an illiterate woman, he comes much nearer to representing strange aspects of Eastern life than Allan. Relatively few drawings for worked out compositions like the Scribe can be identified because Wilkie died before fully assembling more than half a dozen scenes. The sketches for the oil of the Scribe are therefore of particular interest. They show Wilkie beginning a system of composing his pictures with an assemblage of figures from a folio of studies, rather in the manner of Watteau. Wilkie had noticed the actual scene on October 6th while he was walking through Tophanna, a suburb below Pera<sup>25</sup>, and seems to have made his first coloured sketch of the group then. (1840 . 78 . ). The finished arrangement of the painting is recorded in the drawing of January 10th (1841 . 3. ) which shows small but significant differences concentrating almost entirely on the right hand figure. No further drawings for the Rembrandtesque scribe are recorded at all, and none for the grouping<sup>26</sup>. The initial figure on the right had obviously seemed rather gaudy to Wilkie, for he made at least four drawings from a posed model (1840 . 98), (1840 . 99), 1840 . 100 ), (1840 . 101. ) before finalising the composition of the oil (Pl.398).

The model was probably the Jewess, "a handsome and elegant person", who gave Wilkie a sitting on October 30th dressed in a Smyrna cap<sup>27</sup>. One lovely drawing in the right pose, hand on chin, (1840 . 100 . ) but from the wrong angle for the picture, seems to have been made purely for pleasure - it is certainly an attractive view. It could on the other hand have been made because Wilkie wanted to understand the relationship of the body and limbs from all angles, for he tried out quite subtle changes in tone and colour in the three other studies illustrated. Two are clearly from life but the drawing 1840.100 dated November 2nd (1840 . 99 . ) looks so hard that 1840.101 it may have been copied from the Oppé study (1840 . 101.) in order to try the effect of a white rather than a blue dress. While working on the final stages of Sir David Baird, Wilkie had remarked how difficult the final adjustments to tone and colour were in painting; he was experiencing the same problem with the Scribe and used drawings to explore possible solutions. His final choice was a rich but darker and less bejewelled costume than the initial idea. Characteristically this alteration concentrated light on the centre of the composition round the face and hands of the scribe, and achieves an oriental effect using tonal techniques derived from Rembrandt.

The unhappiness Wilkie had experienced in being unable to study family life in Constantinople was largely dispelled by an introduction arranged by his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse, to a local Armenian

family. The man was a gunpowder manufacturer employed by the state; his fine house with walled garden outside the town, overlooked both the Sultan's palace and the Bosphorus <sup>28</sup>. His wife and three daughters entertained Wilkie and Woodburn and showed them dresses and jewels belonging to one of the girls of the family who was to be married. In spite of the formality of the visit, and the tremendous difficulties of communicating without a common language, Wilkie was able to make drawings (1840 . 106), (1840 . 108 ), and afterwards referred to this visit as one of the highlights of his stay in Constantinople. Fortunately Jewish women were not in purdah, so that when he got to Jerusalem Wilkie's problem in finding female models from the local population was reduced. Once in the Holy City, however, he found genre studies giving place to drawings more purposefully directed to Scripture subjects.

mentioned in Scripture, and of the deep dependence of present forms of religion upon the heritage of the past. Although his Protestant upbringing made him pronounce the view that time and place ought not to be over-emphasised he himself was profoundly moved by the associations of specific locations. He felt that the first hand experience of Palestine was so valuable to religious understanding that Britain should found a college for the spreading of knowledge of the localities mentioned in the Bible<sup>6</sup>. He expressed some scepticism on hearing his first guide's attempts to place exactly all the major Biblical events but was deeply affected by

## 7. Drawings of religious subjects made in Jerusalem

Wilkie, conscious that "representing Scripture history" was "great work", prepared himself by reading recommended texts about Palestine while in Constantinople<sup>1</sup> and by studying his Bible every evening in Jerusalem (despite Haydon's comment that "Wilkie was not prepared for the journey at all in knowledge"<sup>2</sup>). Although he wanted to be the first figure painter to work "on the spot" he knew that Rembrandt had already studied the Jewish population in Amsterdam for his convincing representations of Old Testament scenes.<sup>3</sup> Wilkie kept the achievements of the great European masters at the front of his mind, finding that, even in Constantinople "The Scripture subjects of Rembrandt are recalled to us at every turn by what we see before us"<sup>4</sup>.

From the moment of his arrival in Smyrna on January 20th 1841, Wilkie was very aware of treading in places mentioned in Scripture, and of the deep dependence of present forms of religion upon the heritage of the past. Although his Protestant upbringing made him pronounce the view that time and place ought not to be over-emphasised<sup>5</sup> he himself was profoundly moved by the associations of specific locations. He felt that the first hand experience of Palestine was so valuable to religious understanding that Britain should found a college for the spreading of knowledge of the localities mentioned in the Bible<sup>6</sup>. He expressed calm scepticism on hearing his first guide's attempts to place exactly all the major Biblical events but was deeply affected by

hearing the Lord's Prayer in the place "where it was first uttered"<sup>7</sup>. At the tomb of David he found he could not prevent himself from repeating a Psalm<sup>8</sup>, an identical reaction to that of Sir Moses Montefiore who had earlier given an account of his visit to Wilkie<sup>9</sup>.

The sale catalogues show that Wilkie made many sketches of his surroundings, clearly hoping to use them as backgrounds to paintings of Biblical subjects. He had found in Jerusalem as at Troy "many of the localities disappoint"<sup>10</sup>; and as a result many of the drawings must have been like the Entrance to the Mosque of the Tomb of David (1841 . 90 . ), slight and unpeopled, for most reached only modest sums in the sale. Even these drawings were obviously of prime importance to Wilkie, however, - his 'fields', rather than his 'harvest' of finished groups and portraits. When he summed up his impressions about religious paintings at the end of his journey he remained surprised that the Italians were so inaccurate in their Biblical settings. He felt that in the more knowledgable and enquiring nineteenth century it was no longer suitable that 'evangelical Syria[be] entirely unrepresented' and acknowledged the importance of Roberts' publications<sup>11</sup>. A new system of Scripture painting must inevitably result from the free access of painters to the East. Wilkie's own 'system' was overt persuasive evangelical propaganda. Art should not supply mere illustration, but provide "a collateral evidence of the truth of the sacred writings ... [and] give fresh proof of the correctness of the sacred



narrators in what they knew by showing their accuracy in what we know they must have seen"<sup>12</sup>. Wilkie himself had felt in Jerusalem that "the very stones..rise up as unchanging witnesses of the correctness of the evangelical narrations".<sup>13</sup> Wilkie's drawing activities in Jerusalem anticipate F.G. Stevens' attitude that "the modern artist does not retire to monasteries, or practice discipline; but he may show his participation in the same high feelings by a firm attachment to truth in every point of representation, which is the most just method".<sup>14</sup>

Absolute uncomprising truth was more difficult to accept or even to establish in the case of habits and customs of the early Jews. In this area he swung uneasily between differing theories, attempting to reconcile conflicting historical 'facts' with his own prejudices. One major problem was the propriety of representing sacred subjects as they would actually have happened. He could not accept that women would have been excluded from social intercourse in New Testament times for this would have struck at the heart of his method of composing with complementary male and female forms.<sup>15</sup>  
<sup>16</sup>Worse difficulties arose with the Christ at Emmaus, for which he had to consider the thorny problem of sitting positions. He wrote at the end of January "In Scripture we read often of a party when they sat at meat; now as it is not explained how they sat at meat, we of the western countries naturally suppose they sat at meat as we do, at a table, and upon chairs. In seeing the customs, however, of these districts, we

find this, to our disappointment, entirely different. When the Asiatics sit at meat, it is either upon the ground, or upon very low seats, and the table is a board placed upon a low stool. To introduce this at once in sacred subjects would scarcely be possible, perhaps better not introduce it at all, if the imposing character of the picture should be diminished by it"<sup>17</sup>.

This problem engrossed Poussin in the 17th century, but at that time Roman habits were assumed as a matter of course. Even so, detailed research had preceded Poussin's choice of the triclinium<sup>18</sup>. Wilkie had the chance of introducing local custom but was willing to sacrifice novelty, and with it accuracy, in order to suit his "previous ideas".<sup>19</sup> This prevailing notion was so strong that even in portraiture Wilkie's prejudices sacrificed Oriental colour to Western notions of propriety. When presented with the opportunity of painting the dramatic personality Mohammed Ali he substituted a substantial elbow chair for a picturesque divan, deliberately preferring associations of dignity to override truth to Turkish customs<sup>20</sup>.

These preconceived ideas can be seen also in the Christ at Emmaus where the figures, "painted from life"<sup>21</sup>, sit at a table covered with a light cloth. What they sit on and how they sit is deliberately unclear, for right up to the point where Wilkie left for home, this matter was still under discussion in letter after worried letter to people in Britain. He took advice from the "learned monks and clergy of Jerusalem" and among "the learned rabbis of Mount Zion"<sup>22</sup> but found that they supported

the view that the sitting position would have been low. In spite of this Wilkie finally seems to have convinced himself that in this case "the manners of Scripture are[not to be supposed]precisely represented by the present race in Syria".<sup>23</sup> Although he acknowledged that the early tent -dwelling children of Israel had had an eastern style of living, he felt that "from the time of Soloman to that of the Messiah and Apostles..they may have lived in similar habits with those of their neighbours [Greek and Romans] to whom they approached in their knowledge of civilisation and the arts".<sup>24</sup> From all we know of Wilkie this moderation is entirely in keeping with his earlier practices of garnering factual material, then making a vigorous selection and compromising with inconvenient truth. Earlier in 1840 he had felt he had to justify the mixing of fiction with fact to a friend who had been researching for his Knox and the Sacrament at Calder House - a subject with many elements in common with Christ at Emmaus. In the additive design of Knox he had attempted to achieve variety by compounding "a mixture..which, whether consistent with truth or not, is certainly required to make up that kind of compound that goes to the formation of what we call a picture"<sup>25</sup>. Despite his bold language about sweeping away abuses of the past, his notion of a Martin Luther in painting<sup>26</sup> involved only moderate reform<sup>27</sup>. Rembrandt could show the Virgin dying with an undignified dribble on her chin, but Wilkie had to show Our Lord seated upright at the table at Emmaus, even if only on a stool. Sir

Henry Blount could accept that the Orientals were not barbarous but "governed by another kind of civiltie, different from ours, but not less pretending"<sup>28</sup> -

Wilkie could not. Young, an acute observer recognised that "there was a struggle going on within him to dislodge something of his old style, in order to give place to those new materials which were now crowding for admittance". Sometimes the struggle was lost.<sup>29</sup>

Wilkie's sketch for the Nativity "in the costume of the present day" (1841 . 82 . ), is bolder perhaps, but still bears the stamp of compromise. Here the Virgin is seated on the ground, like a Madonna of Humility, although she has a western, even Victorian, type of smooth beauty. A different technique is used to mark her importance: as with Christ in the Emmaus picture, the Virgin is shown in the simplest and most generalised garments, while pronounced Asiatic characteristics and dress are reserved for the onlookers. The problem of maintaining and establishing the importance of the "Hero" of a subject which is presented in modern dress had been encountered by history painters of the late Eighteenth century in Britain. Artists like West<sup>30</sup> (an artist much admired by Wilkie) had tried various solutions and Wilkie chose the traditional compromise of restricting innovations to the supporting cast and setting. It is important to note that these decisions were not made lightly, for Wilkie's inclination towards "the Whole Truth" was compelling and therefore his dilemma was great, as his letters show. Although there are very

very few preparatory drawings for these Scripture paintings, compared with those for say the Sir David Baird, the studies he did make are taken from life, and modified as little as possible, for Wilkie felt of the Asiatics that they were "the native descendants of those who should form the characters of these pictures" [of Biblical incidents].<sup>31</sup> His presentation of the disciples at Emmaus as Arabs in richly coloured contemporary dress emphasises Wilkie's concern with the present state of the race and his wish to reconnect them with New Testament events. The drawings show Wilkie's fascination with alien racial types most clearly. In Halico Mirza (1840. 96 . ), the exiled Persian prince, he found an autocratic princely type for his portrayal of Christ in the Emmaus painting. One cannot tell how the prince was seated in this drawing (in the Aberdeen study (1840. 95 . ) he sits on a cushion crossed legged) but although his clothes are changed to dark simple robes for the painting, the general pose and the features follow the drawing quite closely. Not quite closely enough, however, for the study captures the presence of a man born to rule far more accurately than the painting. In generalising the major figure according to principles set out in Reynold's Discourses, by smoothing out particularities of feature and expression, he has emasculated Christ, rendering him with a blank rather than an elevated expression. Young felt that Wilkie had a "heart full of grand feelings"<sup>32</sup> and was well able



to "conceive representations worthy of the best times of the art"<sup>33</sup>, but in this case he presents us with Christ shorn of authority, ironically reminiscent of Haydon's Christ in the Entry into Jerusalem.<sup>34</sup> "Poor fellow", said Haydon of his dead friend, "he was coming home with new views, and a new style for Sacred subjects for which he was not fit. He could no more have painted Christ than have raised Lazarus".<sup>35</sup>

On the whole Wilkie turns from the appearance of living people to the stones of the place to give authenticity to his work. Many drawings are mentioned which would have furnished background material for well known Biblical incidents. Views of Jerusalem and scenes within its walls are regularly mentioned throughout the journal and frequently appear in the sale catalogues. One sees how they would have been used on considering the Christ before Pilate.<sup>36</sup> As well as studying Arabs from life for at least the figure of Pilate, Wilkie has modelled the background on studies of the Arch of Pilate in the Via Dolorosa. At least three drawings were made (1841 . 48), (1841. 49), (1841. 50) specifically for this setting, and they show the relationship of the house where Pilate washed his hands, with the Via Dolorosa where Christ walked after his scourging. In 1847 Young remembered "how exceedingly he was struck with the first view he had of the 'Ecce Homo' arch. We had been paying a visit to the governor, and had been enjoying the view of the city and Temple area from the top of his house, when, as we descended

the steps of the Seraglio, and were about to return home by the 'Via Dolorosa', he suddenly stopped just as we caught sight of the arch; and when I told him what it was, he retraced his steps, and took up a position at the corner of the street, opposite Pilate's Palace, from which we had just emerged, and commenced dilating upon the extraordinary impression which the locality, and the effect of a portion of the city seen through the arch, made upon him. He scattered around us the material for a grand picture, and, in a few words, laid out the subject of Christ before the Judgment of Pilate".<sup>37</sup> In this picture Wilkie exercised the power which so excited him in prospect when he wrote to Collins of communicating to curious Christians at home "innumerable situations as to distances, heights and relative positions, the reader of Scripture cannot help guessing at, but which our art alone can help him to imagine rightly"<sup>38</sup>. Whether the "extraordinary impression" made by the locality on Wilkie could really be communicated through his drawings and paintings is doubtful, for the oil panel is unfinished. The subject was certainly not a spontaneous reaction to the location, although Young speaks as if Wilkie envisaged the complete scene on first visiting "the 'Ecce Homo' arch". It had been at the forefront of his mind in Amsterdam when looking at Rembrandt,<sup>39</sup> and at Smyrna when he had made a very close study and a drawing of an early sculpted group of "Christ crowned with thorns" (1841. 13 . ) by Roman soldiers, who are mocking

and deriding ... not..fine style but..much feeling and expression."<sup>40</sup> In his own work Roman soldiers do appear behind Christ so Wilkie may have intended to work up a diagonal of derisive figures (as in the Rembrandt etching of the same subject)<sup>41</sup> from the figures of Mary Magdalene and the Virgin at the bottom left. The drawings for this subject were quickly selected and used because it was clearly one of the predetermined scenes for Wilkie's Houses of Parliament series, indeed the only one we can be sure was a scene of judgment from Scripture.<sup>42</sup>

The Betrayal and Christ weeping over Jerusalem seem to have been subjects considered by Wilkie. The beautiful drawing of the Garden of Gethsemene (1841 . 95 . ), with a view of the splendid walls of the city of Jerusalem - "unlike all other cities; ... the buildings, the walls, the gates, so strong, and so solid, as if made to survive all other cities" <sup>43</sup> is very highly finished. For these scenes she would have needed elaborate drawings of the setting, such as this, and although he knew that the group of lithographs of Jerusalem from drawings by David Roberts would be available for reference,<sup>44</sup> Wilkie so loved the view from the Mount of Olives that he<sup>45</sup> returned several times during his busy visit, making more drawings. The family recognised their brother's attachment to the place and amongst the very few drawings they kept from this period were a Garden of Gethsemene and a view of Jerusalem from the Mount of 1841.95

Olives (1841. 100. ), both of which they had framed and glazed.<sup>46</sup>

From the outset of his journey Wilkie had intended to paint a version of the Nativity from Asian figures,<sup>47</sup> so it is no surprise to find several studies of Bethlehem, including a signed and dated drawing, tinted (1841. 91. ), which sold for as much as the oil Study for the Nativity itself.<sup>48</sup> There are not many such detailed drawings among those for religious subjects. From the drawings of the Holy Sepulchre (1841. 113), (1841. 114 ), it seems that a Resurrection or perhaps an Ascension was intended; he certainly made one study of the Ascension after a mosaic (1841. 93. ); perhaps a Christ and the Money-changers or a Christ teaching in the Temple was in his mind when he made drawings of the Synagogue. He probably had envisaged painting a Pool of Bethesda (1841. 96.) for the drawing of this location was sufficiently interesting to raise the price to eleven guineas in the 1842 sale. From the description accompanying David Robert's lithograph of the same scene in 1839 it seems to have been a rather sordid puddle under the shadow of the walls of Jerusalem at this period.<sup>49</sup> What modification of the truth would Wilkie have thought suitable here, one wonders?

The lists of drawings that we have help to exonerate Wilkie from Haydon's charge that he was bitterly jealous of the success of Haydon's Entry into Jerusalem and his Raising of Lazarus.<sup>50</sup> Any rivalry in religious painting

intended by Wilkie was of a more general nature, for there are no sketches specifically related to either subject - despite the fact that Wilkie found the visit to Bethany stirring and the village picturesque.<sup>51</sup>

At first glance through the drawings it seems as though the Old Testament was largely ignored. Sketches of The Tomb of the Kings (1841 . 78 . ), the Tomb of Absalom (1841 . 77 . ), The Entrance to the Mosque of the Tomb of David (1841 . 90 . ), and The Cave of Jeremiah (1841. 71, 72. ), all of them slight, show a very perfunctory consideration of settings of the time before Christ, though the Synagogue drawings may have been intended as studies for this period too. This dearth of Old Testament scenes is surprising in so conscious an admirer of Rembrandt, who had moreover shown himself aware of the differences of worship between Jews and Christians, and of their common heritage. Perhaps part of the reason was that Horace Vernet had confined himself to "scenes of the patriarchal time"<sup>52</sup> and Wilkie wished to consider well before competing. The journals and drawings can be interpreted in another more interesting way however: they suggest that Wilkie had almost wholly abandoned the idea of explicitly illustrating Old Testament scenes and had become absorbed by the idea of parallels between the situation of Jews in Old Testament times and the situation of the Jews in nineteenth-century Palestine. This interest in "the



Jewish question" was fostered by Wilkie's contact with Young, who was his principal European guide during his stay in Jerusalem.

... of interest in Britain for forming a learned society for the promotion and elucidation of the background of the Bible; for the establishment of a native Protestant Community and for the conversion of the Jews. The London Society for the Protection of Jews had established itself in Palestine and gained great support at home. As the devout son of a minister, Wilkie was aware that the Church of Scotland wished to open a mission to the Jews in Palestine, and that in 1839 a deputation had been sent to study possibilities on the spot. The deputation had found the Galilee area "an open and uncultivated field" and on their return had gained official approval for the project from the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in October 1840 - at the very time Wilkie was suffering his first experience of Eastern deprivation.<sup>53</sup> Wilkie's language about his own work reveals the same evangelical commitment.<sup>54</sup>

Fundamental to Wilkie's response to the Holy Land was his meeting beforehand in Beirut with William Young - the first British Vice-consul to be appointed in Jerusalem.<sup>55</sup> The appointment had only been achieved after great difficulty at the end of 1839 when Mohammed Ali and his Superior the Sultan, anxious to please Britain, had issued the required firman to Lord Ponsonby.<sup>56</sup> Such an

Religious drawings in Jerusalem: Young and the Jewish Question

Wilkie's arrival in Palestine coincided with a wave of interest in Britain for forming a learned society for the exploration and elucidation of the background of the Bible, for the establishment of a native Protestant Community and for the conversion of the Jews. The London Society for the Protection of Jews had established itself in Palestine and gained great support at home. As the devout son of a minister, Wilkie was aware that the Church of Scotland wished to open a mission to the Jews in Palestine, and that in 1839 a deputation had been sent to study possibilities on the spot. The deputation had found the Galilee area "an open and uncultivated field" and on their return had gained official approval for the project from the Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for Promoting Christianity among the Jews in October 1840 - at the very time Wilkie was suffering his first experiences of Eastern deprivation.<sup>53</sup> Wilkie's language about his own work reveals the same evangelical commitment.<sup>54</sup>

Fundamental to Wilkie's response to the Holy Land was his meeting beforehand in Beirut with William Young - the first British Vice-consul to be appointed in Jerusalem.<sup>55</sup> The appointment had only been achieved after great difficulty at the end of 1838 when Mohammed Ali and his Superior the Sultan, anxious to placate Britain, had issued the required firman to Lord Ponsonby.<sup>56</sup> Such an

appointment had been one of the dearest wishes of the Earl of Shaftesbury, who cherished profound evangelical intentions towards the Jews of Jerusalem.<sup>57</sup> In Young, Shaftesbury found an equally proselytising mind and it was Young himself who was Wilkie's most constant companion and self appointed advisor in Jerusalem.

Already in Constantinople Wilkie had met Lord Ponsonby,<sup>58</sup> the British Ambassador, and Sir Moses Montefiore, a philanthropic Jew,<sup>59</sup> who was actively concerned about the depressed state of his race in Jerusalem and who, when Wilkie met him in Constantinople, had recently effected the release of captive Jews in Damascus.<sup>60</sup> These two men with their first hand knowledge of the Jewish question had talked with Wilkie about their concern when Wilkie in turn was expounding the aims and purposes of his journey, before he reached Jerusalem. They prepared his mind and drew his attention to features of Eastern life of which he might otherwise have remained unaware. Young was quite captivated by Wilkie's earnest response to Jerusalem, quickly established himself as a trusted friend and continued to supply background information to the complex religious situation in the Holy City. Thus we find the choice of subject clearly reflecting Young's deep involvement with both Protestant and Jewish sectors in Jerusalem.

Young had been appointed, at a salary of 300 pounds per annum, to relay useful information to the Secretary of State on statistics; to reside principally in

Jerusalem; to cultivate friendly feeling towards Great Britain amongst the inhabitants of the country; and above all to "afford protection to the Jews generally".<sup>61</sup> Shaftesbury had believed that this appointment would allow research into the past and was sure that Palestine "when dug and harrowed" would supply the required evidence of "the authenticity of the Bible".<sup>62</sup> In pursuing these aims Young had penetrated into all sectors of the Jerusalem community, which made him a most useful guide to Wilkie. Jerusalem was, however, the third Holy City of the Islamic faith; the situation when the appointment had been made was fraught with difficulties, and tact, mildness and moderation on Young's part had been essential. At first Young had been over zealous and had urged the British government to become the formal, as it was already the natural, guardian of Jew and Protestant.<sup>63</sup> His dearest wish was to build a place for public worship of Protestants to gain respect for the British character and to strengthen British influence. When Wilkie was in Jerusalem Young held Sunday services in his own house, which Wilkie<sup>64</sup> attended, but the whole question of the relationship of the church to the consulate remained undefined, and before long complications and rivalries developed among Protestant sects which brought the different factions of the Christian church into disrepute and embroiled the well-meaning Young.<sup>65</sup> These factors probably contributed to Young's decision to resign his commission in 1845, but the difficulties were germinating and recognisable at the time that Wilkie was in Palestine. Wilkie shows

his own awareness of the problems of open feuds in a letter to Helen of the 31st March where he talks about the "Latins, Greeks, Armenians and Moscovites" at the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>66</sup> Before Wilkie drew the Irish priest Father McLaughlan he heard of the rivalries which one night<sup>67</sup> caused Young to be called out from his bed to the Holy Sepulchre in order to settle a dispute.<sup>68</sup> This must have recalled his interest in the differences between the Protestant and Catholic religions which he had already considered as a theme for art when working on O'Connell's portrait.<sup>69</sup> He had already shown spontaneous interest in comparative religion in February when he sought out the house of Simon the Tanner. There he saw the place "so influential on the whole system of the Christian faith" where Christians had specifically been freed from the prohibitions on eating habits which formed so striking a feature of Jewish and Moslem practice surrounding him.<sup>70</sup> Ponsonby and Sir Moses Montefiore (and perhaps Resid Pacha) had alerted Wilkie to the similarity in situation of the ancient Jews and those of 1840. He recognised that the Sultan held the same position of responsibility to "a persecuted remnant of Israel" as had the Pharoahs of Egypt,<sup>71</sup> and found himself constantly relating the present to the past. Wilkie's personal reaction to the series of disasters affecting the chosen people is perhaps reflected in the drawings for Jeremiah bewailing Jerusalem,<sup>72</sup> (1841 . 71, 72 ) Christ weeping over Jerusalem,<sup>73</sup> (1841. 99.) and the Jews at the place of Wailing.<sup>74</sup>

plate 421

Young remembered walking about Jerusalem with him when



"Scripture subjects were ever before him, and he would speak with delight when we came across any view or group of people that presented to his mind a picture, from Holy Writ".<sup>75</sup> One such view is only recorded in Young's paper; no drawing can be identified of it though one must surely have been made. " We were passing the street of the corn-market together where there are fine remains of the substructions of the Hospital of St. John: he had spied beneath one of these mysterious and artificial caverns, a motley group of Fellahs, together with their camels and asses, half of them brilliantly illuminated with a sunbeam, and the other half shrouded in the obscurity of an almost night-like shadow, which was neither light nor darkness.

As I returned to him, he pointed beneath the arch, and putting his hand above his eyes to throw off the vertical light, exclaimed, 'Wonderful, the patriarchs and their sacks of corn.' "<sup>76</sup>

The many drawings of Jewish figures (e.g. 1841.60, 66), some contrasted with Turks (e.g. 1840.109, 107.) and the view of the Mosque of Omar (1841.88), or the study (1841.44) in the Church of the Latin Convent may well have been intended for Biblical subjects or scenes from the history of the Jewish people. Both on a personal level and in his capacity of Vice-Consul Young had done his best to alleviate the poverty in his own household and office.<sup>77</sup> This proved of inestimable value to Wilkie for it enabled Young to obtain permission from 'Useph Zamiro', his Hebrew dragoman, to visit him at any time, and

draw from the groups which are always to be seen within and without the crowded courts of the Jewish quarter - a concession which might have otherwise not been granted by this persecuted minority to a stranger in such troubled times. Young also took Wilkie to visit "several of the Jewish families at the opening of their sabbath, when their quarter of the city, as well as their dwellings, are seen to the best advantage" and "The synagogues and the houses of the chief rabbis ... venerable fathers of their people".<sup>78</sup> Many drawings resulted from these visits for Wilkie was always amiable and his hosts polite and hospitable, and at least one subject was begun as an oil: The Synagogue with a beautiful group of women and children<sup>79</sup> which incorporates the study of a Hebrew woman sold in 1842. On the 17th of March Wilkie had risen early to attend a service at the Synagogue on Mount Zion at 7 a.m.<sup>80</sup> and had made a drawing (1841 . 73 . ); on the 26th March he had gone to "see the Jews and Jewesses at the outer wall of the temple - a fine subject".<sup>81</sup> "Here the people as well as their situation, lead you to ages long passed away".<sup>82</sup> Fortunately Young tells of this visit to the Jews place of wailing and of the powerful effect the sight had on Wilkie: "with this sight, peopled as it were with aged Jews bowing down in prayer and sorrow over their fallen glory, he was also much struck, and at once proposed to himself a grand picture in "Thy children think upon her stones, and it pitieth them to see her in the dust".<sup>83</sup> Wilkie too speaks of the scene in his letters, as summing up the essence of the

1841.60

1841.61

1841.64-70

1841.82

1841.67

Jewish predicament, "excluded from the rock and stone walls of their own temple ..."[on Mount Zion] in their "miserable quarter of the city".<sup>84</sup> By 1840 the London Society for the Protection of the Jews had established the right of the Jews to hold meetings in this Arab stronghold, but life was still very difficult for them. Wilkie seems to have been interested not only in Jewish history but in educational reform.

An education programme had been begun for both Arabs and Jews by the American mission to Syria and Palestine. Wilkie had made friends with Mr. Beadle, an American missionary based at Beyrout, who spoke Arabic and could therefore communicate directly with the local population without the barrier of a dragoman intermediary. From him he must have learned of the ambitious American plans for converting Jews and Arabs to Christianity. One outstandingly bold measure was to include women in the teaching programme of the mission schools. This did not meet with instant success, but was an idea which greatly appealed to Wilkie, who had been deploring the lack of women in most of the scenes he wished to portray from life.<sup>85</sup> Wilkie seems to have been particularly interested in methods of teaching and learning the Faith and the Law. Two such studies by Wilkie are quite well known; the Hebrew women reading the Talmud (1841. 60) published in the Oriental Sketches, and the Jew Dragoman of the British Consul teaching Children (1841 . 64. ) which was retained in the lateral branch of the family and now at the Binns, Midlothian. Another not so well

Young too was concerned and interested in the question of instructing Jews and Arabs. His importance to Wilkie in Jerusalem can hardly be overestimated. He stated that it was part of this duty to conduct so eminent a British visitor throughout Jerusalem and, like Whittall in Smyrna, gained Wilkie entry to the houses of local residents, even persuading reluctant and uneducated Arab Moslems to sit as models. When Young himself did not accompany him he provided David, his janizary, as substitute, no doubt briefing him on the places he should visit as well as affording Wilkie protection in those unsettled times. Young's paper of 1847 and the entries in Wilkie's Journal make it quite clear that Wilkie's attitudes to and interpretation of what he saw in Jerusalem were formed and moulded by the information and influence of Young.

turned reluctantly from exotic Oriental subjects to historical romances for a living. Wilkie was to take these subjects in the reverse order. David Roberts had travelled in the East from August 1838 for nearly a year, publishing his work on his return in lithograph form with Wilkie's publishers, Moon and Ross, in 1842.<sup>2</sup> His work was a systematic coverage of biblical locations over a much more extensive area than that visited by Wilkie. The drawings were well known to Wilkie before publication — he had subscribed to the volumes before leaving to make his own visual records, and he mentions them in some detail during his travels.<sup>3</sup> Although it is with the work of Roberts that

## 8. Artists in the East

Wilkie was not the first British draughtsman to work in the Middle East. J.F. Lewis who had been anticipated by Wilkie in Spain and who had dedicated his Spanish lithographs to Wilkie, met him in Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> Two Scots, both personal friends of Wilkie, had also been East before him. William Allan, a near contemporary, and fellow student at the Trustee Academy, had among his many travels visited Constantinople between 1826 and 1829. Allan's Eastern subjects of the 1830's, as well as his earlier Russian subjects, must have been known to Wilkie and doubtless stimulated his awareness of the East. After Allan became President of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1838, he and Wilkie were in quite regular communication. It had only been after advice from Scott that Allan had turned reluctantly from exotic Oriental subjects to historical romances for a living. Wilkie was to take these subjects in the reverse order. David Roberts had travelled in the East from August 1838 for nearly a year, publishing his work on his return in lithograph form with Wilkie's publishers, Moon and Sons, in 1842.<sup>2</sup> His work was a systematic coverage of biblical locations over a much more extensive area than that visited by Wilkie. The drawings were well known to Wilkie before publication - he had subscribed to the volumes before leaving to make his own visual records, and he mentions them in some detail during his travels.<sup>3</sup> Although it is with the work of Lewis that



Wilkie's Eastern drawings are most naturally compared, his knowledge of Allan's romantic subjects and Roberts' comprehensive record seem to have influenced him when he was choosing his own subjects for illustration, first in Constantinople and then in the Holy Land.<sup>4</sup>

Edward Lear, when he travelled East (1848-58), had no hesitation in judging J.F. Lewis' work to be the most vividly accurate representation of the East. Roberts and Allan both recorded some convincingly realistic scenes and groups.<sup>5</sup> For some reason, however, Wilkie often fails to capture the essentially Eastern quality of his subjects in spite of being a better artist in most respects. Young writes of Wilkie's struggle to shed inappropriate elements of his old style when he worked in Jerusalem,<sup>6</sup> but there were also traditional European ways of seeing, consolidated by his study of the Old Masters, which Wilkie would not throw off. His very purpose of painting a series of pictures for a European public coloured the interpretation of Oriental life portrayed in his drawings with a Western tinge.

Part of the explanation for Wilkie's relative inability to respond to the special qualities of the East may lie in the age at which he made the journey. William Allan was romantic and impressionable when he first went to Russia for nine years, and although suffering from eye trouble when he visited Constantinople,<sup>7</sup> was still in his forties and quite adaptable. Both Lewis and Roberts were also youthful and well able to stand the rigours of travelling rough. Like Allan they were quite used to working abroad in alien cultures, and were

sufficiently established in their careers to gain access to all areas where they wished to draw.<sup>8</sup> When he set off Wilkie was unwell, fifty-five, and a distinguished representative of Her Majesty. His rank meant that he was always flanked with European companions and assistants. His contacts were invariably ambassadors, consuls or their powerful dragomen (interpreters) or janizaries - never local inhabitants, except those to whom he was introduced. Even these people tended to be like the Armenian broker whose family were exceptionally well off and therefore untypical of the bulk of the population.<sup>9</sup> Wilkie's diary of social engagements reads like one in the height of the London season, with visits to magnificent villas where he was entertained in superb style<sup>10</sup> and dinners with the Ambassador. Hemmed in by convention and always in the public eye, the only advantage of Wilkie's position in Constantinople was his access to Arabic nobility such as the Persian Prince Hallico Mirza, the Sultan himself and Mehemet Ali. Even this opportunity was not unique to Wilkie, for Roberts had painted an Interview between Mohammed Ali and the British Consul at Alexandria in 1839, while the French artist, Horace Vernet, later persuaded a companion to photograph the Egyptian leader.<sup>11</sup>

## Integration

The extent of Wilkie's stay in time and in geographical range was less than that of the other artists, and this affected his integration and consequent appreciation of characteristic local features. Wilkie was more apt to notice those features similar to European ones although he was well aware that these must be suppressed and the unfamiliar emphasised to give an exotic effect.<sup>12</sup>

Wilkie kept himself busy while delayed in Constantinople but was rather too edgy about the problem of extending his visa to settle properly - unlike William Allan who had been used to foreign travel and to blending into the Circassian landscape by adopting Russian dress.<sup>13</sup>

One wonders whether Wilkie was serious when he mentions the urge to rend his Mackintosh when he first sighted Jerusalem.<sup>14</sup>

Like Allan, Roberts stayed longer than Wilkie and travelled further, particularly outside inhabited areas. For convenience and for safety he had assumed Arab dress, and left Cairo with well armed servants, twenty-one camels and "nearly as many Bedouin Arabs of the tribe of the Beni Saids".<sup>15</sup> Roberts had taken the route followed by the Israelites to the Promised Land, sleeping regularly in tents and subject to the full rigours of the climate. Like Wilkie he was accompanied everywhere by a guard to "protect him from interruption or insult while sketching".<sup>16</sup> He sometimes felt disadvantaged by his lack of the language while in the wilds, but had no difficulty of access in the towns. He even obtained permission to enter every

mosque he desired to visit, - "a privilege never before given to a Christian", and apparently not given to Wilkie - "provided that he did not desecrate the place by using brushes with hogs hair bristles".<sup>17</sup> Poor Wilkie presents a very different figure, blundering about in Ruschuk in his Mackintosh, trying to enter private houses uninvited and wondering why the dogs were set on him.<sup>18</sup>

Lewis, of course, stayed longest and integrated most successfully. He lived in Cairo as a Pacha from 1839-1841 and when Thackeray visited him in 1844, Lewis was sitting and smoking Eastern fashion, wearing Eastern clothes and surrounded by Eastern servants.<sup>19</sup> Like Wilkie, Thackeray found this behaviour uncivilised, but it did enable Lewis to fully integrate himself with the community at Cairo, giving him access to harems and domestic situations which were completely closed to Wilkie - a rootless traveller on a limited leave. Ruskin said that Lewis' mission was "to portray the comparatively animal life of the southern and eastern families of mankind".<sup>20</sup> Wilkie on the other hand was looking for the roots of his own civilisation. The material gathered by Lewis served him for years of detailed watercolour and oil paintings on his return to England, just as Wilkie's drawings would have served him had he lived.

## Subject Matter

On the whole Wilkie drew in urban settings, rarely staying outside the cities. The comparison between European wealth and Arabic squalor would be most marked in cities, while the greatest formality in the yashmaking and seclusion of women would be observed. William Allan, whose eastern subject matter was also largely urban, chose to romanticise or dramatise the incarceration of the female in his "Love Letter"<sup>21</sup> just as he had sentimentalised the occasion of Lord Byron's swim across the Hellespont.<sup>22</sup> William Allan's reactions to the same scenes and events that Wilkie drew were always more operative. In Allan's version of the Slave Market,<sup>23</sup> which Wilkie must have known, a wide range of heart-rending episodes are organised in a huge scenario - rather like the arrangement of one of his battle scenes. A mother is separated from her child, a youth from his wife, and youthful virgins are led off to a harem, while the auctioneer stands in the centre of the stage, above and oblivious to the surrounding suffering. Wilkie appears to have concentrated on the fate of one individual in his (lost) drawing Bargaining for a Circassian Slave. (1840. 84.).

Of all three men it is Lewis whose work corresponds most closely to Wilkie's Constantinopolitan drawings. His urban harem interiors and portraits of women, his sheikhs and bazaar scenes from Cairo, show a side of Eastern life attempted also by Wilkie. The Harem Life -<sup>24</sup>  
Constantinople by Lewis in the Laing Art Gallery, revels



in the intense light and rich, contrasting patterned colours which envelope the indolent, sensuous women fanning themselves slowly or languidly teasing an equally sensuous cat. When Wilkie had access to apartments which, since they belonged to a Persian Prince, must have been at least equally rich, he seems to have been at a loss, for the resulting drawing from this visit was straight forward portrait watercolour and a copy. The version in the British Museum (1840 . 93 . )

A Circassian Slave is an exceedingly beautiful study, highly finished but with no feeling for the place, atmosphere, circumstances or light, and with only the minimum of immediate surroundings rendered. On the other hand, many of Lewis' figure studies and even some portraits sacrifice an interpretation of character to a love of detail and end up looking like costume drawings. In Wilkie's Eastern drawings his able interpretation of character is maintained. When the drawings by these two men are compared, the reason for Ruskin's advice to Lewis is clear: "take up Titian ... you now ought to paint as well as you can - having passed the time in mere studies".<sup>25</sup> Lewis' drawings are jewels of accomplished technique but his paintings show "all too palpable toil".<sup>26</sup> Wilkie's drawings are often laboured, mannered and muddy, but always show the greater characteristics of breadth, character and rich tone which convert readily into oil.

Among Roberts' drawings it is the Palestinian views which compare most interestingly with those by

Wilkie. Although expecting to have his own volume of  
 Roberts' lithographs, Wilkie often made sure of record-  
 ing his own visual impressions from more or less the same  
 spot. Both draughtsmen covered many different views 1841.42, 43.  
 of Jerusalem and its walls, the Holy Sepulchre, the 47-55,  
 Pools of Bethesda and Siloam and the Tombs. Unlike 75-79,  
 most of Wilkie's topographical records, Roberts' 87-90,  
 landscapes are intended to be 'finished' and are 97-100.  
 therefore inhabited to show the scale of the buildings, 1841.96  
 e.g. the Tomb at Jehosophat, or The Citadel of Jerusalem, 1841.76  
 where a group of Turks seated on top of the wall demonstrate 1841.78  
 its impressive breadth.<sup>27</sup> It would appear from the date  
 on the lithograph that these figures may have been added  
 in Britain to give a "just and characteristic effect".  
 Despite this human interest and Roberts' fidelity and  
 "skilful and rigid adherence to the truth of costume and  
 attention to just and characteristic effect",<sup>28</sup> these  
 completed topographical views are often as dry and  
 uninteresting as Wilkie's Tomb of David (1841. 90 . ) 1841.98  
 which was intended as a brief sketch. Because he was  
 more dispassionately comprehensive than Wilkie, Roberts  
 has left us drawings of contemporary ceremonies in the Holy  
 Sepulchre by Greek and Armenian Groups, and scenes  
 from Nazareth and the story of the Virgin which may not  
 have appealed to the Presbyterian Wilkie.<sup>29</sup> Had Wilkie  
 not been frightened to stay longer<sup>30</sup> he might have  
 covered more of this ground himself. In other cases  
 Roberts' drawings are the nearest reference we have to  
 lost Wilkie drawings of the same subject, and they show

fairly faithfully what Wilkie would have seen himself.  
in 1841.<sup>31</sup> Roberts did much of his travelling outside  
cities along Old Testament routes and therefore saw  
more of the nomadic tribes than Wilkie. Several of  
his drawings have a flavour of the desert, found in  
Lewis' Encampment scenes but rare in Wilkie. Neither  
Roberts nor Lewis required a specially arranged sitting  
to make characteristic drawings of camels (as Wilkie  
did at Mr. Whittals)<sup>32</sup> for they regularly saw them in  
a working situation. It is rather hard to claim that  
Lewis was the only artist who ever drew a respectable  
camel,<sup>33</sup> for Wilkie's pair (1841. 15 . ) and Roberts'  
groups of mules and camels resting in the heat of the  
day, or trekking through the desert,<sup>34</sup> are perfectly  
convincing beasts. Roberts tended to be better at  
the expansive scene rather than the individual study.  
His representative of the Beni Said<sup>35</sup> looks weak beside  
the virile young men represented in Lewis' desert  
sketches<sup>36</sup> but Wilkie's Bethlehem Sheikh is a more  
powerful character than either. Roberts attempted to  
capture the romance of the powerful warriors of the  
desert in his dramatic drawing of Sabaste Ancient Samaria<sup>37</sup>  
where he includes an exciting and surely imaginary group  
of galloping horsemen with dogs. This comes very close in  
concept to Allan but is far from Wilkie and from Roberts'  
own usual, more literal, approach.<sup>38</sup> Where Wilkie would  
have envied him were the situations when Roberts could  
sketch women in the desert. Roberts includes women,  
some even with bare arms, in several drawings, where

1841.58

instead of deploring the yashmak he emphasises it to introduce an element of mystery and variety. In his drawing at Jaffa he shows a group of women reclining like sirens with their yashmaks flowing in front of them to considerable effect.<sup>39</sup> Roberts even apparently found some women who could be sketched unveiled; at the Fountain of the Virgin,<sup>40</sup> he represents at least one negress bared to the waist. In Bethlehem 90% of the population were Christian and therefore not in purdah. Perhaps if Wilkie had donned Arab dress and visited outlying areas rather than making only brief forays from the city (for example to Bonobat) he would have found more women to include in his subjects.

After looking at the drawings made in the East by Roberts, Allan and Lewis, and comparing them with those by Wilkie it becomes obvious that he was rarely distracted from his purpose to gather material for Scripture painting. The remarkable bleaching light of the East was almost irrelevant to him, so he did not study it; old men were appropriate models for the prophets so he did not often draw the young or middle aged. He had been obliged "to crowd into only a few hours of study that which demanded months and even years properly to digest"<sup>41</sup> in urban Syria - the rest he was obliged to ignore.

## 9. Types of Drawings: Purpose and media

Almost every kind of medium previously found in Wilkie's oeuvre and nearly each type of drawing can be found among the sketches from his last journey. Many of these drawings are highly finished portraits which have already been partly discussed in the section on Portraiture. These are more water and body colour paintings than sketches. For these Wilkie was given adequate time and sittings to complete his work, with opportunity to make duplicates - the heads usually from life - of several. Thinking of these portraits as paintings encouraged Wilkie to experiment with different colours of paper, in order to approach the range, richness and depth of tone characteristic of oil, but in doing this he sacrificed the brilliance and sparkle of a luminous white ground.<sup>1</sup> (1841. 35 )

Only in a few cases do his drawings reveal a feeling for the inherent transparent qualities of the medium of watercolour - he was usually more concerned with achieving effects of solidity and depth. He regularly used opaque white as the highest tone to add sparkle in the same way that he had used white chalk in his early drawings. This is often the final touch on his drawings and in some cases looks so out of key after the tones of the other colours have gone down, that the white has been taken to be a later addition by another hand and in at least one case, The Muleteer, has been cleaned off.<sup>2</sup> (1841. 38.)

1840.86  
1840.93  
1840.95  
1840.97  
1841.34  
1840.118  
1841.35

1840.100  
1840.118  
1841.35

1840.89  
1840.95

The drawing of Mrs. Young is a

1841.86



typical example of different effects of time on hues as opposed to pure white: Mrs. Young looks as if she has a greased face because of the increased difference in tone between the tints and highlights.

One of the most charming, successful and technically pleasing examples of this type is that of Admiral Walker's child in Turkish dress (1840.. 118 ). In this Wilkie attempts the equivalent of an oil scumble with gouache over watercolour by pulling opaque white paint over the transparent colour of the child's hair and head dress. He here employed the variety of media to be seen in his Rubensian drawings of the mid- and late thirties such as the Edinburgh Negress head, for Josephine and the Fortune Teller. 1836.20 Some reflection of his study of Rubens on the Continent in August and September is to be expected, and is found in the handling of these finished drawings. He first drew in the outline of the child in pencil 1840.118 in order to bound the form, then painted areas on flesh and clothes with warm hues of yellow and pink watercolour. He set the figure against a very deep warm shadow and completed the large areas by adding little touches of white. The final process employed his old trick of sharply outlining, with pen or a thin black paint-line applied with a sable brush, the eyelids and fingers to make them the most defined and focused areas of the study. This dark outline round the eyes, applied in conjunction with an adjacent dot of white, gives the vivacity and expression which Wilkie invariably sought, by making the eyes limpid and striking. The

strong linear element of the late drawings is in this case well under control, but occasionally it becomes so dominant a feature that it contradicts rather than explores form, creating abstract two-dimensional shapes as in the glamorous drawing of Mrs. Moore (1841 . 35 . ). This linearity, even round the head dress of Mrs. Moore, is never so wilful as in the sketches made near Munich, eg 1840.30 however.

Apart from the presentation drawings, many from this set of Eastern portraits are unfinished. The splendid group portrait of Sotiri and his family (1840 . 97 . ) is an example where the formal relationships of the figures and the disposition of their limbs are all indicated but where only the heads and certain still life elements (such as the view of Constantinople visible through the window) are completed. Areas which Wilkie could fill in without the actual presence of the sitter are left quite blank. Colours are noted but not completed at the time as in the Jewish Rabbi (1841 . 64 . ) or even the very beautiful Nubian giving water to his horse (1840 . 89 . ). Wilkie admitted to Young that he had been obliged to crowd into a few weeks of work what it would have required months or years to study properly and so he saved time on his drawings where he could.<sup>3</sup> The increasing familiarity of Wilkie with the medium of watercolour can be seen by comparing the Negro giving his master a sherbert (1840. 95) in Aberdeen with the Jewess, dressed with the Smyrna cap (1840 . 100 . )

drawn shortly after. Muddy colours are replaced with clear hues, heavy sluggish handling by light competent strokes and stereotyped faces and poses by a more natural relaxed pose, well understood and rendered.

The Jerusalem drawings have in the main an entirely different character because they are more rapid working studies. They employ a wide range of media and techniques from pure pen line to rich tonal work. eg 1841.90

Wilkie continued to use both watercolour and chalk but the convenience and versatility of pen made it an ideal medium for speedy notes, for which it was much used. A rather unexpected drawing from this group is the Pilgrims to Mecca and Jerusalem, (1841 . 23 . ) dated February 1st 1841. Executed entirely in pen line without wash, it employs the dot technique favoured by Wilkie during the 1820's and only revived sporadically after 1825. eg 1823.2

The very precise nature of the information to be recorded - for example the differentiation between seven types of head wear - required the same kind of approach as that used in the studies for areas of the detailed genre paintings of the Penny Wedding period. The pose and features of each of the nine figures is studied, the method of blowing the charcoal brazier on the right carefully recorded, the pattern formed by the stripes on the clothes of the card player on the left, even the manner in which his turban is folded, is set down cleanly and precisely in pen for later reference. eg 1819.9

Wilkie was never so skilful with black lead, but he does use it for some quick sketches on his travels.

His increased mastery over this difficult medium can be seen in the intimate Child bringing her father his turban (1840 . 108.) and the Jew and Turk, (1840 . 109 . ) both at Glasgow. The latter admirably captures the mutual distrust between the hunched, glowering, turbaned Jew and the erect Turk in his fez, comparing favourably with the similar drawing in the British Museum where pen is used. (1840 . 111 . ). Even the casual humorous sketch of Two Camels ( 1841. 15 . ) shows Wilkie more in control of the lead than in, for example, the early Duncan Gray studies.

1813.18-20

Another area where Wilkie had admitted to difficulties was in the treatment of landscapes.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the empty drawings of locations already mentioned, we have three attempts at rendering atmospheric scenes, using watercolour. Technically quite different from the thinly washed views of c1817, the "Deux Frères with the heights of Lebanon" (1841 . 40 . ) dated February 22nd 1841 attempts the effect of rich colour and dramatic lighting, but the handling is turgid and the paint heavy and thick. In the National Gallery of Scotland view (1840. 123 ) the light handling of the distance adds a little zest but the near view of a precipitous path is dulled (probably due to the paint fading). Entirely surpassing both these in quality is the lovely drawing of the Garden of Gethsemane, (1841 . 95 . ), Wilkie's favourite view of Jerusalem. Although the mannered qualities characteristic of Wilkie's late drawings are apparent here, the stylised foliage and rhythmic linear

pattern of the land add to, rather than detract from, the effect of this fine landscape. The pencil line defines the skeleton of the trees with far more conviction than in David Roberts' version of the same place.<sup>5</sup>

Roberts' was one of the Finden Sketches and therefore worked up from someone else's drawing, whereas Wilkie's was made on the spot with all the powerful influences of associations acting on him, in this case to great effect. The spot chosen by both artists seems to be that on Olivet which is described in Moon's publication of Roberts' drawings in the Holy Land:

"It is still an olive ground with many neglected trees widely scattered over the slope of the hill; but the spot especially sacred in the estimation of the pilgrims is a space of 57 yards square with a low stone enclosure; containing 8 large olive trees, apparently of great antiquity and is still in a sort of ruined cultivation; the fences broken down and the trees decaying". (Rev. George Croly LL.D). (6)

In this group Wilkie captures for once the sensation of heat in the countryside and the welcome coolness of the garden in the relatively sparsely vegetated area, by using a masterly combination of thin, crisp and precise pencil lines with broader scribbles of black and white chalk on toned paper. The distant city walls of Jerusalem are shown, brightly lit, by a sharp hard line. Helen Wilkie kept both this drawing of Gethsemene and her brother's last sketch - the outline of Malta.<sup>7</sup>

1841.112

Between them these two drawings demonstrate the extremes of draughtsmanship in this last period - the brief spare record and the fully developed interpretation.

As he worked towards richer, fuller and more



colourful information sketches in his developed water-colour technique, Wilkie condensed the amount of work between his first impressions of a subject and its completion in oil. Increasingly, as he had in Spain in 1828, he recognised suitable arrangements in scenes round about him, and this enabled him to preselect the main lines of the design at the same time as he chose the subject. Inevitably these designs are

1840.78

1841.3

plate 398

simple, like The Scribe or are based on established patterns like the Christ at Emmaus. The simplification of composition problems allowed Wilkie to paint, with the minimum of preparatory drawing, from life. Thus he attained in his last paintings the goal which he had recognised while working on Pitlessie Fair.<sup>8</sup>

of a wide range of media, with an ability to combine  
informative detail with a broad and fluid style.

This facility was the result of constant application and study, rather than the natural expression of a personal style. Wilkie is an example of a major British artist who deliberately chose to discipline himself and to restrain any personal mannerisms of style by studying first and foremost from nature, and only subsequently from the greatest masters of art. This procedure is contrary to the advice of Reynolds, who in the sixth of his Lectures on Art advises the young artist to shorten his labour by studying the great art of the past.<sup>9</sup> The reason for this apparent perversity in one who admired Reynolds can be found in Wilkie's own Remarks on Painting.

## CONCLUSION

The artist should reflect "that he is painting, not for those who know, but for those who do not know; that he is not labouring for those acquainted with art, in all its details, but for those who do not know and will perhaps never know, any one circumstance connected with his work, save and except the little he can learn from the silent picture itself". 1

Wilkie's development as a draughtsman can be seen as a continuous, unbroken process when one looks through his complete works. His development culminated in the drawings made on his last journey, which show him master of a wide range of media, with an ability to combine informative detail with a broad and fluid style.

This facility was the result of constant application and study, rather than the natural expression of a personal style. Wilkie is an example of a major British artist who deliberately chose to discipline himself and to restrain any personal mannerisms of style by studying first and foremost from nature, and only subsequently from the greatest masters of art. This procedure is contrary to the advice of Reynolds, who in the sixth of his Discourses on Art advises the young artist to shorten his labour by studying the great art of the past.<sup>2</sup> The reason for this apparent perversity in one who admired Reynolds can be found in Wilkie's own Remarks on Painting<sup>3</sup>

which depend for many of their ideas on the Discourses. These Remarks, although fragmentary, provide the key to an understanding of Wilkie's approach to his work, and, in particular, the relationship of drawing to the whole.

Reynolds admitted that

"... a manner ... being a defect, and every painter having a manner, it seems to follow that all kinds of faults, as well as beauties, can be learned under the sanction of the greatest masters". (4)

In the Remarks, Wilkie made it clear that he considered a technique which posed a barrier between artist and public to be such a defect. His first reaction to Turner's works was that his handling was "abominable",<sup>5</sup> and obscured his meaning. Much later, when studying the works of Titian in Italy, Wilkie considered that this great master had cut himself off from the common people by his breadth of style.<sup>6</sup> In Rembrandt, on the other hand, he found, and admired, "a draughtsman without style".<sup>7</sup>

Wilkie expressed the belief that the overriding duty of an artist was to communicate directly with those unused to art.<sup>8</sup> All his studies were devoted towards that end; throughout his life he tried to avoid slipping into a mannered style by constantly drawing from life. In this he was certainly following the advice of Reynolds, who had pointed out that

"Nature is refined, subtle and infinitely various, beyond the powers and retention of memory; it is necessary, therefore, to have constant recourse to her". (9)

By attempting to balance such "constant recourse" to nature with a judicious study of the work of contemporary and old masters, Wilkie gradually educated his eye from an instinctive appreciation of the minor illustrative masters to a fuller understanding of form, composition and lighting in Rubens, Rembrandt and the masters of the High Renaissance. This development did not, however, proceed smoothly. Wilkie's early training led him to draw in greater and greater detail until, in 1810, he seems to have reached an impasse. His attempts to vary his method of working led to a study of Rubens, and a combination of more massy forms with complex detailed compositions. This phase culminated around 1822 with The Chelsea Pensioners; the following three years were spent in seeking a style which did not demand such intensive labour on preliminary studies. Some indication of the way Wilkie was to move can be traced from the drawings for The Parish Beadle. His period of study abroad led to a broadening of draughtsmanship; this enlargement of style was combined with an increase of drama and romanticism in subject, and eventually decayed through glamour to mannerism. Wilkie did, however, retrieve his vigour of approach in his journey to the Holy Land in 1840-1841.

Throughout this development Wilkie clearly drew both on life studies and on the work of other artists. At first, prints of David Allan's works influenced both subject and figure style [see (1799.1), (1802.1)].

While studying at the Trustee Academy, he had many more sources to draw on, but seems to have been affected most by the work of contemporaries. Graham's composition of Douglas and the Hermit, for instance, appears to be the source of (1802.3). Wilkie's drawings at the Trustee Academy show him searching for expression (1802.1-3), accuracy (1799.7) and light effects (1803.1), not always with success.

Wilkie was not unique in his study of hands. William Allan shows the same interest in the indication of expression through hands and gesture.<sup>10</sup> Thomas Duncan and John Burnet also made many chalk hand drawings, in the tradition of Allan Ramsay.<sup>11</sup>

It was during the next decade that Wilkie's draughtsmanship became clearly superior to that of his contemporaries. As early as 1806 Haydon attributed some of this strength to Wilkie's reference to Raphael.<sup>12</sup> Wilkie certainly used Dutch seventeenth century compositions for some of his subjects.<sup>13</sup> The genre drawings of this period (1805-1806) are stronger than the anecdotal scenes of Burnet, David Allan or Carse, due to Wilkie's superimposition of detailed drawing from life on a well constructed framework. Burnet's undated Letter from the Sea (Plate 471a) attempts the same effect as Wilkie's Clubbists (1805.19) using such devices as a silhouetted figure and strong light contrasts, but Burnet has not the knowledge to give his figures solidity or his composition depth. The same criticism can be levelled at David Allan's drawing of The Cottar's Saturday Night.<sup>14</sup> David Deuchar created an old lady



crocheting (Plate 472) who is probably the prototype<sup>15</sup> for the old lady in Wilkie's Cut Finger, but although colourful the head lacks the convincing solid structure which is such an evident quality in the Wilkie.

Wilkie himself made direct comparisons between his own work and that of Heaphy, doubtless aware that the latter was selling watercolours like the Fisherman's<sup>16</sup> Cottage (with a still life of glasses resting on a book so detailed that the print is almost legible) for more than he himself was getting for highly finished oils.<sup>17</sup> Wilkie's attempt to increase the miniaturist element in his work [e.g. (1815.4)] led him into a method of drawing always from a point of reference which was very similar to the process favoured by Mulready.<sup>18</sup> Mulready, however, adhered to the system of assembling drawings of each part of the composition, whereas Wilkie, by 1815, was ready to strike out in a new direction.

It was during the period 1815-1822 that Wilkie's more careful study of Rubens and Rembrandt began to have a profound effect on his drawing style. While he relied on David Allan's composition for his own Penny Wedding, he peopled it with robust Rubensian women (1817.45), drawn from life and set in a carefully constructed interior. As a result of reference to life and to Rubens, Wilkie produced a convincing space peopled by figures with more mass than those of Allan or the later D.O. Hill.<sup>19</sup>

A radical change in Wilkie's way of looking at the model can be identified as a result of his study of Rubens. The drawing by Wilkie after Rubens (1818.4) shows

Isabella Brandt taking on something of the appearance of Helen Wilkie, while the drawing of A girl tiring her hair (1818.15) , although drawn from life with Helen's features, is seen (as it were) with reference to the enlarged forms of Rubens's chalk figure studies.

This awareness of the draughtsmanship of the great masters when drawing from life inspired a set of very powerful portraits; it also enriched the figure content and unified the general composition of Wilkie's subject pictures, giving them a grandeur, solidity and mass entirely lacking in the work of many of his contemporaries.

Wilkie's portrait drawings continue this reference to the drawing style of the old masters. Sprightly sketches of Wilkie's favourite model, his sister Helen (1819.54-55), show him at his least inhibited, but his Lady Lyndhurst (1830.10) and Queen Adelaide (1833.8) owe a great debt to the style of Lawrence. The glamorous aspect of female portraiture, derived from Lawrence, continued in Wilkie's drawings until his death, in such studies as Admiral Walker's daughter (1840.118) and the dark eyed Girl in a blue dress (1840.100). Even in portrait drawings of men, such as that of Washington Irving (1829.18), there is a glossy veneer, which, in the portrait of Captain Leigh (1840.105), is converted into a more romantic swashbuckling image.

Earlier portrait drawings by Wilkie had shown careful analysis and penetration of character, as in (1804.11) and (1819.2). Some later portraits combine both the expression evident in the early portrait studies and the romance and

breadth of those influenced by the style of Renaissance and seventeenth century masters. The finished portrait drawing of Sir William Knighton (1835.10), for instance, has dignity of pose and romantically tousled hair, but the treatment of the head shows the private man with signs of tiredness and stress. This is in contrast to the drawing of the Duke of Wellington (1833.37), which concentrates throughout on the public image, and, despite a somewhat ravaged face, emphasises his power and authority both by dramatic Rembrandtesque shading and by the low Lawrencian viewpoint which Wilkie had found so successful in his full-length portrait of William IV.

Wilkie's portrait drawings did not escape a weakening of power in the 1830's. Rather empty portraits [e.g. 1835.136)] and linear studies [e.g. (1834.34)] were not unusual. On his last journey, however, Wilkie found his attention refocused on character. His late portrait drawings increase in concentration rapidly [c.f. (1840.10), (1840.86), (1841.35)] until by (1841.58) he has combined his greater breadth of treatment and general effect with his original powers of rendering incisive character or subtle variations of expression [see (1841.81), (1841.84)].

In subject painting, Wilkie's aim was to make visual records of great events in his country's history in a way that would be intelligible without explanation, like the works of the great masters. To this end he chose to illustrate the "most plain and simple ideas".<sup>20</sup> Believing that people are first attracted to a painting by what they

recognise, and stay to learn only if there is enough natural interest in the picture, he set himself to study the "modes of thought and trains of ideas" <sup>21</sup> of the unschooled. Recognising that man's principal interest lies in his fellow creatures, Wilkie studied "the human countenance as the index of thought and temper", in order to express the idea of man "as an imagining, reflecting and responsible being".<sup>22</sup>

By keeping closely in touch with public taste in this way, Wilkie was able to lead the British public through an appreciation for the works of the minor Dutch masters like Teniers and Ostade [Pitlessie Fair and The Village Festival], through the refinements of Metsu and Terborgh [The Breakfast and The Letter of Introduction], through the attractive composite style of Correggio [The Irish Whiskey Still], to works based on the powerful lighting effects of Rembrandt [Sir David Baird and The Scribe].

Most of his colleagues mention the increasingly pervasive influence of Rembrandt on Wilkie's work. Hart[(1882) pp 67-68] suggests that it was Rembrandt's influence which deflected Wilkie from too precise imitation of seen objects - from being "too particular" -:

"When showing me a copy from Rembrandt's 'Pilgrims of Emmaus,' in the Louvre, he remarked, that this painting exemplified the power which a great artist can exercise over the meanest materials. 'There is no attempt, you see here, to embody in gorgeous costume a scene of Oriental life. The painter, by a negation of his tones, and the simplicity of his light and shade, has transported you back to remote times, and you survey the scene as it might have occurred'."

An exploration of Rembrandtesque rich tones runs like a leitmotif, amongst all other changes, through Wilkie's complete oeuvre. At the Trustee Academy he had attempted Venetian light effects in his Diana and Calisto (1803.1), and sharp contrasts of light and shadow in some of his detailed hand studies [e.g. (1805.2a)]. The Clubbists (1805.19) shows him experimenting with concealed artificial light, silhouetted forms and cast shadows; the series of studies for Rabbit on the Wall [e.g. (1815.10)] continues this preoccupation with dramatic lighting, and confirms that he continued his early practice of working by candlelight. Later, when making studies for his Parish Beadle [(1822.6), (1822.9)], the importance of deep tonalities is clear, and appears in a range of drawings which were not worked up into paintings [e.g. (1823.4), (1823.24)]. From the time he went abroad (1825-1828), Wilkie continually noted works which exploited dramatic lighting effects, finding himself particularly drawn to pictures such as Correggio's Notte at Dresden and Rembrandt's Joseph and Potiphar's Wife in the collection of Lawrence.<sup>23</sup> When he made studies of old masters it was often the areas of intense shadow which he rendered with most care: see, for example, the little study of Rubens and his family (1834.5), or the Van Dyck Lomellini family (1827.10).

Even in these slight studies, he captures greater effects of depth and mass than his contemporaries Burnet,<sup>24</sup> Simpson or Geddes. William Simpson's Spanish monks



(Plate 471b) have not the high seriousness of Wilkie's monks in (1828.9). Geddes's tonal variations on Rubens's Chapeau de Paille (NGS D.1073) are charming studies of light effects, and perhaps come nearer to Wilkie in quality, but are comparatively light weight.

Wilkie in the 1830's was able to develop the dramatic use of tone seen to such powerful effect in (1821.1), and to produce the effect of grandeur on a small scale in such drawings as (1830.11) for Old Mortality and (1833.46). Studies for his major paintings in the 1830's reveal an overriding preoccupation with night scenes and effects of artificial light: Griselda Baillie visiting her father at night (1834.35); Mary Queen of Scots escaping from Loch Leven Castle (1833.66), Sir David Baird (1834.33), (1835.114); Hiding the Regalia (1835.119); Domestic life (1836.30).

Rembrandt had become the touchstone for Wilkie's work by the time he went to Jerusalem. It is clear from Young's remarks that Wilkie delighted in the beauties of dark shadows and contrasted strong lights at least in part because he recognised these qualities as hallmarks of Rembrandt's painting. Wilkie's own group studies of Arab families and Synagogue scenes seem inspired by the memory of Rembrandt's Jewish works, but are recombined into original compositions which Wilkie considered likely to appeal to his British public. This conscious effort to share the pleasure and joy he had found in his own study of art made Wilkie a more powerful influence in extending British taste than perhaps any other

nineteenth century artist.

A study of Wilkie's drawings makes it very clear that he had been interested in history subjects, and in broadening his style,<sup>25</sup> long before his paintings reflected these interests.<sup>26</sup>

Even Roger Fry, deeply critical of the "industrious apprentice" <sup>27</sup> in Wilkie, acknowledged and admired the fine draughtsmanship of his paintings, commenting on the power of design and modelling in his Duke of Sussex, and the "searching understanding of form" in the Earl of Kellie.<sup>28</sup> In Wilkie's drawings a marked and developing personal vision can be identified,<sup>29</sup> with an increasing sensitivity to line and "plenitude of form"; he descended into "mannered calligraphy" <sup>30</sup> only when he temporarily abandoned study from nature.

Wilkie differed from many contemporaries in his continuing use of the very activity of drawing as a conscious means of exploration and learning, rather than as a directly imitative recording process<sup>31</sup> for gathering material for use in pictures.

His late drawings include Academy studies transformed into subjects [e.g. the Magdalene (1840.7), the man carrying a bucket (1840.6)], and studies from recollection of Old Masters, which enhanced his powers of memory and selection [e.g. (1840.14-15)]. Both types of drawing provided a major factor in the "enrichment of his personal vision" <sup>32</sup>, fed his painting with new imagery and strengthened the construction of his pictures.

"I like him much", wrote Joseph Severn of Wilkie. "He is an individual thinker, and full of good stuff".<sup>33</sup> On reviewing his drawings, one is constantly struck by the individuality of Wilkie's approach, and by the constant labours with which he sought to improve his art. "Success", he said, "only follows intense devotion and unwearied study - a devotion and a study to commence with the student, never to be despised or laid aside by the professor, but to animate both to the latest hour of existence".<sup>34</sup>

The drawings made on his last journey show Wilkie's powers as a draughtsman continuing to develop. It may indeed be true, as Fry suggests, that "if Wilkie had lived something much bigger might have come out of him".<sup>35</sup>

## NOTES

### Chapter 1

1. *Can.* II, pp 70 - 71: letter to Sir Thomas Lawrence, 3th May 1822.
2. *Heston* (1873), p 916.
3. *Can.* III, p 524 - 532: Appendix B lists "pictures painted by Sir David Wilkie with date, title, first owner, support, dimensions and price received". While there are many omissions and imperfections in this list, particularly in the case of portraits, landscapes and small subject pictures, the relative proportions of Wilkie's early and late works are indicated here.
4. *Bogus* (1879), p 16.

See also - NOTES.

Sell (1898), p 14: "In middle life Wilkie completely changed his style: a visit to the Continent, where he became acquainted with the masterpieces of the golden age of painters, so fired his imagination, that he quite deserted the simple scenes he had painted with such appreciative insight, to treat heroic subjects with which he was quite unable to cope".

Burnet (1852), p 45: comparing Barber's late works ("dotages and loes") with Wilkie's, he writes: "Like Wilkie's works in his later style - of which so much was said in his own lifetime - they will fall to their proper level".

Wedgwood (1850), p 228: "He travelled to enlarge his culture and to lose none of his individuality".

Short (1893), p 147: "He should have made his tour in Italy and Spain at the turn of the century, instead of twenty five years later; and a high talent might have taken a nobler turn".

Armstrong (1895), p 23: "It is ~~not~~ to say that if Wilkie had never travelled, he would have stood on a far higher pedestal than he does now".

5. Woodward (1948), p 8: quoting John Pope Hennessy's review of the Scottish Art Exhibition (London 1938).
6. *This*, p 6.

## NOTES

### Chapter 1

1. Cun. II, pp 70 - 71: letter to Sir Thomas Lawrence, 9th May 1822.
2. Heaton (1873), p 516.
3. Cun. III, p 524 - 532: Appendix D lists "Pictures painted by Sir David Wilkie with date, title, first owner, support, dimensions and price received". While there are many omissions and imperfections in this list, particularly in the case of portraits, landscapes and small subject pictures, the relative proportions of Wilkie's early and late works are indicated here.
4. Bogue (1879), p 16.  
See also -  
Bell (1899), p 14: "In middle life Wilkie completely changed his style: a visit to the Continent, where he became acquainted with the masterpieces of the golden age of painters, so fired his imagination, that he quite deserted the simple scenes he had painted with such appreciative insight, to treat heroic subjects with which he was quite unable to cope".  
Burnet (1852), p 45: comparing Turner's late works ("dotages and lees") with Wilkie's, he writes: "Like Wilkie's works in his later style - of which so much was said in his own lifetime - they will fall to their proper level".  
Wedmore (1880), p 228: "He travelled to enlarge his culture and to lose some of his individuality".  
Short (1953), p 167: "He should have made his tours in Italy and Spain at the turn of the century, instead of twenty five years later; then a high talent might have taken a nobler turn".  
Armstrong (1888), p 28: "It is safe to say that if Wilkie had never travelled ... he would have stood on a far higher pedestal than he does now".
5. Woodward (1958), p 8: quoting John Pope Hennessy's review of the Scottish Art Exhibition (London 1939).
6. Ibid., p 6.



7. Cun. II, p 512: letter to Helen Wilkie; Madrid, 31st March 1828: "... these new subjects, and new manner of treating them ... I have now, from the study of the old masters, adopted a bolder and I think a more effective style; and one result is rapidity".  
  
Cun. II, p 521: letter to Thomas Wilkie; Madrid, 7th May 1828: "I observe your remarks about my change of style of working; but almost all painters have changed so, two, three, and four times in their day, and I should have seen the Continental schools in vain if some changes had not been effected ... the people like change, and I shall try".
8. Walpole (1888), Vol III, pp 11 - 12: takes Hogarth to task for diverting from the variety and richness of his modern moral subjects.
9. In 1769 J.B. Greuze (1725 - 1805) presented a painting of a classical subject, Severus admonished by Caracalla, for admittance to the French Academy as a history painter, but was rebuked and accepted as a genre painter.
10. Cun. I, p 133: letter to Boyd Kinnear of Kinloch; late autumn 1806: Wilkie refers to "that branch of the art which was so congenial with my inclinations, and which is probably most suited to my abilities".  
  
Cun. I, p 118: letter from Wilkie to Sir George Beaumont, dated June 15th 1806: "Be not persuaded to deviate from the line nature and inclination have marked out for you".
11. Cun. II, p 8: letter to Samuel Dobree; 8th January 1818. At this earlier stage Wilkie had said of the subject The Death of Sir Philip Sidney: "Being out of the way I have been accustomed to, it is a doubt whether I should be able to do it with effect, as a particular line of study is necessary to paint historical and biographical incidents". [NLS Ms 9835 f 109].
12. Brydall (1889), p 260.
13. Cun. III, p 204: "It is even said that the divine Raphael was too much influenced by the hazardous innovations of his great contemporary, and that, by enlarging his style of drawing, and increasing the size of his figures, he was departing from the more pure and less faulty manner of his early days; but we forget that the progress of change observed in this great master, like that which may be traced in the early works of Michaelangelo himself, is precisely that which arises from the success of their

enterprises, and the fuller development of their powers. A progress from limited to more enlarged efforts may, in like manner, be seen in the history of every school, in the career of every master, and in the progress, from commencement to completion, of every work of art".

14. Reynolds (1959), p 35: Discourse II, line 326 ff  
 Wilkie's attitude to Reynolds' Discourses is given in a letter to Dr. Chalmers -  
 New College, Edinburgh, Ms CHA.4.18.64 f 464: 17th August 1821: "It gives me great pleasure to hear that you so far [think] of the Art which we practice here as to read the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds. They are with painters quite a textbook and by far the most philosophical writings upon the subject that have been produced".
15. Cun. I, p 40: remark by an inhabitant of Cults, quoted by Cunningham.
16. Heaton (1873) p 517.
17. See, for example, The Clubbists (1805.19), signed in pen, and the group of drawings executed at Joanna Baillie's house in Hampstead in September/October 1810, which are drawn in pencil and black chalk and signed in pen. Haydon (1963) Vol V, p 144, mentions a drawing in the Wilkie Sale of 1842 (not identified): "I found an early drawing which he gave me and wrote on the back 'Given my friend Haydon 1813 - one of my early drawings'". A short discussion of dating problems is included in Volume II, p vii.  
 Wilkie also possibly dated some of his paintings in retrospect: see Marks (1968), p 421 n.134.
18. Cun. III, p 138: " ... what are the wants and tastes of the people in whose land we live, and in what way can these wants and tastes be rendered available in the higher of the efforts of the sculptor and painter?".  
 Cun. III, p 479: "He laid it down as a maxim, that a painter who desired to rise in and through his art, should consider the demand for his commodities in the market, and the character and influence of his purchasers, and fit, as far as art permitted, his works to their taste and mind".
19. See Plate 36a: drawing for an engraving of The Gypsy Mother, possibly by E. Portbury, who engraved the work; private collection; pencil on thin white paper 206 x 163 mm. The area is squared off by 34 x 26 grooves. The outline of the composition has been marked in, and the areas of shadow (e.g. the inner corner of the eye and the nostril) indicated by a series of curved lines made with a hard pencil. See Text p 79.

20. See the series of drawings for The First Earring: (1821. 6-8); (1825. 5); (1832. 1-4); (1833. 1, 88, 89); (1834. 1-3); (1835. 118); (1837. 31).

21. Cummings (1968), p 215. Sir David Wilkie, R.S.A. 21.1.1825  
Signed and witnessed 21st July 1825 (before  
Wilkie left Britain to reside on the Continent  
1825 - 1838).  
Wilkie directed his executors, Sir Francis Chantrey,  
sculptor, Sir James Macdougall, an old family friend,  
and George Veitch of Bath, to sell all his "paintings,  
prints, copperplates, copyrights of prints, and shares  
of copyrights, ... goods, chattels ... personal  
estate and effects", to invest the money and to  
divide the interest between his "dear sister Helen"  
and his brother Thomas. On the death of either  
Helen or Thomas the capital was to be realized and  
equally divided into four shares, one share going  
to the survivor and the other three to the children  
of the other three siblings. Some care was taken to  
protect Helen's portion from the attentions of  
a possible mercenary husband. A small sum of £15  
was bequeathed to each of Wilkie's two godsons,  
William Wilkie Collins and David Colclough. The will  
was proved on 10th August 1841 by the two surviving  
executors.

2. Lot No. 16573:  
"Catalogue of the works of Sir David Wilkie, R.S.A.,  
deceased; including all the sketches made during  
his last tour in the East; Painting implements,  
etc., which by the order of the executors will be  
sold by Auction, by Messrs Christie and Manson at  
their Great Room, 6 King Street, St. James's Square,  
on Monday, April 25th, 1842, and five following  
days precisely at one o'clock".  
The sale comprised 689 lots, and included as follows:  
"On Thursday, April 28th, 1842, comprising 21 lots ...  
Original studies for the celebrated Picture of  
Sir David Baird, finding the body of Tippee", and  
four further lots.  
Subsequently referred to as the first Wilkie sale.

3. Lot No. 16581:  
Held after a two day gap on conclusion of the first  
sale, May 2nd being the viewing day when catalogues  
could be bought in advance:  
"Catalogue of the engraved copper plates and  
impressions and other engravings, a few books and  
the painting implements and costumes, the property  
of Sir David Wilkie, R.S.A., deceased; which by  
order of the executors will be sold by auction by  
Messrs Christie and Manson at their Great Room, 6  
King Street, St. James's Square, on Tuesday May 3rd,  
1842, and following day, precisely at one o'clock".

## Chapter 2

1. Somerset House: Sir David Wilkie Knight. 27.f <sup>4</sup>/<sub>15</sub>  
Signed and witnessed 21st July 1825 (before Wilkie left Britain to convalesce on the Continent 1825 - 1828).  
Wilkie directed his executors, Sir Francis Chantrey, sculptor, Sir James MacGrigor, an old family friend, and George Veitch of Ratho, to sell all his "paintings, prints, copperplates, copyrights of prints, and shares of copyrights, ... goods, chattels ... personal estates and effects", to invest the money and to divide the interest between his "dear sister Helen" and his brother Thomas. On the death of either Helen or Thomas the capital was to be realised and equally divided into four shares, one share going to the survivor and the other three to the offspring of the other three siblings. Some care was taken to protect Helen's portion from the deprivations of a possible mercenary husband. A small sum of £15 was bequeathed to each of Wilkie's two godsons, William Wilkie Collins and David Raimbach. The will was proved on 10th August 1841 by the two surviving executors.
2. Lugt No. 16575:  
"Catalogue of the works of Sir David Wilkie, R.A., Deceased; including all the sketches made during his last tour in the East; Painting implements, etc., which by the order of the executors will be sold by Auction, by Messrs Christie and Manson at their Great Room, 8 King Street, St. James's Square. On Monday, April 25th, 1842, and five following days precisely at one o'clock".  
The sale comprised 689 lots, and included as Addenda: "On Thursday, April 28th, 1842, comprising 21 lots ... Original studies for the celebrated Picture of Sir David Baird finding the body of Tippoo", and four further lots.  
Subsequently referred to as the first Wilkie sale.
3. Lugt No. 16583:  
Held after a two day gap on conclusion of the first sale, May 2nd being the viewing day when catalogues could be bought in advance:  
"Catalogue of the engraved copper plates and impressions and other engravings, a few books and the painting implements and costumes, the property of Sir David Wilkie, R.A., Deceased; which by order of the executors will be sold by Auction by Messrs Christie and Manson at their Great Room, 8 King Street, St. James's Square, on Tuesday May 3rd, 1842, and following day, precisely at one o'clock".



This sale contained 316 lots, with 4 additions in pen, and raised £1773/13/11. The first day comprised lots 1 - 69: Books; lots 70 - 80: Books of Prints; lots 81 - 221: Engravings. The second day comprised lots 222 - 229: Miscellanies; lots 230 - 252\*: Costumes, etc.; lots 253 - 260: Implements from Constantinople; lots 261 - 316: Painting Implements and Materials.

Subsequently referred to as the Second Wilkie Sale.

Haydon (1963) Vol.V, p 142: journal entry, April 12th and 13th 1842, shows that both the First and Second Wilkie Sales were advertised in the newspapers.

4. Lugt No. 25662:

"Catalogue of the whole of the remaining beautiful work of Sir David Wilkie, R.A., consisting Of a few finished pictures and studies, in oils: amongst which are the Portrait of Mehemet Ali; the Gentle Shepherd - an early work [lot 682 in the 1842 sale]; the Queen's Procession; a Bivouac, between Jericho and Jerusalem; Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus. Also a large and most interesting collection of Drawings and Sketches, in Water-Colours, Pen and Black Lead, being Studies for the Great Master's well-known Works, including a few far Eastern Scenes and Academy Studies. Also, a Portrait of Sir David Wilkie, by Sir William Beechey, R.A.; and a Marble Bust, by Rennie; with a few Framed and Unframed Proof Engravings - from Sir David Wilkie's Pictures: which (By Order of the Trustees and in execution of the Testamentary Directions of the Deceased) will be sold by Auction, by Messrs Christie, Manson and Woods, ... On Wednesday, June 20th, 1860, And following Day, at one o'clock precisely".

Viewing and sale of catalogues was arranged for June 18th and 19th, 1860.

The sale comprised 360 lots. Day 1 comprised lots 1 - 139: Sketches; lots 140 - 156: Etchings; lots 157 - 186: Engravings after Wilkie. Day 2 comprised lots 187 - 188: Landscapes by Gainsborough; lots 189 - 361: Sketches by Wilkie; lots 362 - 379: Framed and Glazed Drawings by Wilkie; lots 380 - 390: Pictures and a Bust.

Subsequently referred to as the 1860 Wilkie Sale.

5. Raimbach (1843), p 184: he records of the first sale:

"In April 1842, the sale of his pictures and sketches took place at Christie and Manson's, and excited a degree of public interest quite unprecedented. The sale continued seven days and produced about nine thousand pounds - nearly double the amount that was



anticipated. This sum, added to about twenty thousand pounds he had previously realised, was bequeathed chiefly to his brother and sister."

B.R. Haydon was one of the many of Wilkie's friends who were interested in the sale, and were invited to the private view. Haydon (1963) Vol.V, p 144, notes on April 19th 1842 [Friday 22nd and Saturday 23rd were the public viewing days]: "Went to the private view of poor Wilkie's Sketches. Many of his early Sketches and drawings I remember well at the Academy, and many before he came to London at Graham's I had never seen."

By 1860 Raimbach, Haydon and many other of Wilkie's friends were dead, and the buyers were predominantly dealers. In 1842 interest in the sale of Wilkie's work was enhanced by the exhibition of 118 drawings and paintings by Wilkie arranged by the British Institution: see Haydon (1963) Vol.V, p 166, n.8; Art Union IV (1842), p 212.

6. It is apparent from the master copy of the 1842 sale catalogue that both Helen and Thomas Wilkie had been associated with the organisation of the sale, and it therefore seems most likely that the the identification of subjects and the dates of drawings would have been checked by them. [A last minute correction in lot 344 (Veronese changed to Titian) is more likely to have been made by a Christie agent, however]. Helen had lived with her brother from 1813 until his death; Thomas had been his brother's businessman for fifteen years. One can also assume a reasonable knowledge of Wilkie's work among interested friends living in 1842. The master copy of the first 1842 sale contains the names of Helen and Thomas (inked in in a different pen from that used to record buyers and prices during the sale, and probably inserted before the sale) beside certain lots of clear personal interest: e.g. lot 474: Houses at Pera, tinted, bt Wilkie 4 gns. It is probable that the 'Simpson' who bought lot 473, View from Sir David Wilkie's Residence at Pera, for 6 gns., was the painter William Simpson, a former pupil of Wilkie's, buying for Helen, as he also bought lot 372, The Serenade, Seville, (£16/5/6), which had been earmarked for Helen in the catalogue.

Although it is clear that less care was taken with its preparation, the 1860 Wilkie sale catalogue is also quite likely to be reliable as a source of information, since Thomas was living in London at the time - at 86 Sloan Street, Chelsea, on 17th November 1859, when he made his will in accordance with Wilkie's injunction that immediately after the death of either Helen or Thomas his capital should be quartered and distributed among his siblings or their offspring, and at Clarendon Road, Kensington, in 1863, at the time of the codicil (Somerset House: Last Will and Testament, Thomas Wilkie, No.19).

Thus the comment appended to lot 139 in the 1860 sale (1840.8) - "This was the last drawing made by Sir David in England" - could have been confirmed by Thomas.

Taylor (possibly the Taylor who was one of the executors of Thomas Wilkie's will) appears to have acted as a buyer for Thomas occasionally in the 1860 sale: see, for example, lot 368, Dressing the Bride, chalks, bt Taylor £4/10/-, which was later bought by Professor Batchelor from the great-nephew of the artist.

7. Although in such a catalogue the quality would naturally be overpraised on all occasions by the auctioneers, and comments such as "very fine" and "spirited" do not tell us much, they are clearly helpful in distinguishing the degrees of finish of, say, lot 585, Mehemet Ali, "slight", and lot 590, Three Greek Sisters at Therapia, "an exquisite drawing".

8. The catalogues thus provide a framework into which newly discovered drawings may be slotted.

The sales obscured as well as revealed information. Haydon (1963) Vol.V, p 144, journal entry for 19th April 1842, says of his visit to the private view of the first sale: "I found ... his small copies from my studies of a Lioness I dissected which I remember lending him, and which I noted, and he noted on the little drawings, but they are pasted up in mountings." Other drawings were trimmed and stuck down, concealing the drawings on the back: e.g. (1834.50). Many mounts, however, have inscribed information still visible, possibly provided by Helen at the time of the sale; Lot 86, (1817.8), Tent Preaching, "a beautiful subject", bt Cadell £6, is not only inscribed and dated in pen on the drawing, but has three inscriptions on the mount:

- (i) Bottom right hand corner, in ink: "Drawn by Sir David Wilkie". This possibly registers a confirmation by Christie's of the drawing's authenticity, as the style is not in Wilkie's best known manner and the drawing is not signed.
- (ii) Below (i), in a different hand, in pencil: "I bought this at Christie Mansions 1848"(sic)
- (iii) Bottom left hand corner, in pencil in the same hand as (ii): "Purchased at Sir D. Wilkie's sale 25 Apl 1842 £6/0/0 ... memo on this Card board". Apparently this inscription is copied from an earlier inscription, now faded, on the original mount.

The final inscription enables the drawing to be identified with lot 86 rather than lot 87 (Kilmartin Sacrament, bt Murray £4) or lot 44 (Kilmartin, bt Woodburn £1/5/-).

See also inscriptions on (1799.1), (1810.1-4), etc., from the family collection, which were probably based on Helen's information.

As with signatures and dates, these inscriptions can be inaccurate and misleading. A full discussion of such matters will be found in a Catalogue Raisonne, in course of preparation.

9. Private communication from Sir John Heygate, 23rd May 1967:

"I have here (Bellarena, Londonderry) letters and four watercolour and pen and wash sketches. The letters (nine) are from Wilkie to my great grandfather and grandmother Sir William and Lady Heygate. He was Lord Mayor of London in 1822, created a baronet in 1831. She was a patron of the arts and quite a good artist herself. But the letters, with one exception, refer to social engagements and are not very interesting. If they bought a major work by Wilkie, it has not survived....

The four framed sketches were done between 1827 and 1836, mostly at North Myms, Herts, one of my great grandfather's houses, and are of everyday events and family jokes, I should imagine. [See Vol.III, p 452 (U.1)]. The drawings are all amusing and well done, the sort of thing an artist who was a friend of the family might leave behind as a present, and all are signed and dated."

Cun III, p 108: letter to Helen, 26th September 1835: Wilkie mentions such a social visit to Roecliffe near Leicester, another house of Sir William and Lady Heygate.

10. In a private communication, 1966, Mrs. N.C. Butler states that David Wilkie, her neighbour and the great nephew of the painter, owned many of the latter's paintings and drawings. He sold them one by one over the years, cutting drawings out of scrapbooks of Wilkie's works. In 1963 Mrs. Butler bought a quantity of these, including a scrapbook which she sold at Sotheby's on Wednesday 12th February 1964, after the death of David Wilkie. Pages 20-21 of the catalogue of this sale list The Property of Mrs. N.C. Butler under 6 lots, as follows:

lot 115: Three studies for a portrait of the Duchess of Kent and Queen Victoria, aged twelve, in 1831, black chalk, pen and ink and sepia wash; An English Cottage, study of an interior, black and white chalks on buff paper, various sizes, four drawings on two sheets.

lot 116: Three Landscape Studies, pencil, black chalk and watercolour, two heightened with white, on buff paper, on one sheet, each approximately 5" x 7".

- lot 117: Three Studies for a Portrait of Queen Victoria, pen and ink, black chalk and watercolour, one dated October 19th 1838, three on one mount, various sizes [see 1838.7b).
- lot 118: Twenty five Studies for figure compositions, pen and ink and wash, one signed, one dated 1st Janry 1835, various sizes, twenty five drawings on four sheets (4).
- lot 119: Twenty eight Studies for details in paintings and portraits, pen and ink, black chalk and watercolour, one signed with initials, dated 1836 and indistinctly inscribed "Duke of Wellington ...", various sizes, twenty eight drawings on three sheets (3).
- lot 120: A Scrapbook of landscape, figure and animal studies in various mediums, including sketches for Paul and Virginia 1802 [1799.1], Diana and Calisto 1803 [1803.1], Pittessie (sic) Fair 1805, Village Politicians 1806, The Blind Fiddler 1806, Sunday Morning 1806, The Card Players 1808, a printed request from the Royal Academy to sign his obligation and receive his diploma 1809 [1809.21], The Village Festival 1811 [1810.1-4], George IV Entering Holyrood 1822 [1824.31], A Roman Princess Washing the Pilgrims' Feet at Rome 1829, A Room in Windsor Castle 1835, Napoleon's Royal Arms 1836 [1835.14], Sir David Baird finding the body of Tippoo Saib 1839, High Mass at Vienna 1840 [1840.42], Turks at Constantinople 1840, A Jewish Family in Jerusalem 1841, A Jewish Synagogue in Jerusalem [an oil of this subject was with Victor Spark, New York, in 1971], Malta - Wilkie's last work 1841 [1841.112], and other subjects. (A volume).

When the volume referred to in lot 120 was broken up after the sale, the National Gallery of Scotland bought some individual drawings from the Folio Society, including the Diana and Calisto. Others have disappeared for the moment into private hands.

11. Wilkie instructed that his juvenilia should be destroyed when his family moved from the Cults manse in 1813 following the death of his father in 1812. See Cun I, p 375: letter to Helen Wilkie, 24th March 1813 -  
 "The pictures such as the two I got premiums for, may be taken off the frames, and rolled up together; anything else that seems curious you may bring, but the old drawings I made at Graham's Academy I really



15. think it might be as well to burn. The drawing of Cleghorn is not worth sending to his family, so I beg you will not."

Not all the drawings were burned, however, although Cunningham suggests that they were destroyed: see Cun I, p 69. Haydon (1963) Vol.V, p 144, makes it clear that many of the drawings done by Wilkie at Graham's Academy were sold at the first 1842 sale (see note 5)

12. Some finished drawings were sold: e.g. Sir William Knighton (1835.10); Mrs. Moore (1841.36).

Waagen (1857) Supplement, p 374, further confirms that the Knighton collection was founded by Sir William Knighton, Bart., "at a time when his attendance on George IV gave him the opportunity of purchasing good works of art. The pictures ... amount to between 80 and 100 ... including ... above all Wilkie. Drawings by Wilkie ... further enrich the collection."

13. Wilkie is not unique in his husbandry of and dependence on drawings. On his death, however, there were in his collection over 2000, many signed and dated, most identified as studies for pictures.

William Allan and William Mulready, both also pupils of Graham, are perhaps among the closest parallels to Wilkie in this respect. Allan (1850) lists about 400 "Finished Drawings and Sketches in Water Colours", and over 500 "Studies in Chalk, etc., and Pen and Ink Sketches" (lots 98-196 and 233-273 respectively). These figures suggest that, in a longer life, Allan did not retain as many of his drawings for reference as did Wilkie. The Victoria and Albert collection of drawings by Mulready (1786-1863) shows an artist producing even more drawings than Wilkie, with the habit of "careful completion"; of "making sure of everything beforehand, of studying out all the parts and details that he might be accurate and assured in all he did": Redgrave (1890), p 269. Ibid, p 298: "Mulready made careful cartoons, finished in black and red chalk, for some of his works." Earlier artists, for example J.S. Copley, also worked in this way; see Cummings(1968), pp 88-96.

14. Cun II, pp238 & 244: letter to Helen Wilkie, 15th February 1826; Wilkie suggests that the "threatened disasters" arising from the difficulties of Hurst and Robinson may be exaggerated.



15. Cunningham, in the preface to his Life of Wilkie (Cun I, p vii), acknowledges help from B.G. Windus, Esq., of Tottenham. This collector was known mainly for his gallery of Turner's work: vide Ruskin (1897) Index, pp 352-3; Vol I, p 137 - "One of the most beautiful examples is the drawing of trees engraved for the Keepsake, now in the possession of B.G. Windus, Esq." Burnet (1852), p 43: "Mr. Windus obtained the sixty four illustrations of Scott, at twelve guineas a drawing" [none of Windus's Wilkie drawings sold for such a sum in June 1842: the most expensive was lot 58/58\*, a group of about 5 drawings, sold for £12/1/6. See note 16]. Ibid, p 45: "... it is at Mr. Windus's, at Tottenham, that Turner is on his throne, not in two or three, or even half-a-dozen specimens, but in a series of framed examples, chiefly water-colours, and in portfolios of lesser specimens, in size, though not in merit."
16. Lugt No. 16630.  
"A Catalogue of the Drawings and Sketches by Sir David Wilkie, the property of Benjamin Godfrey Windus, Esq., of Tottenham; which will be sold by Auction, by Messrs Christie and Manson, At their Great Room, 8, King Street, St. James's Square, on Wednesday, the 1st of June, 1842, and following Day." The sale comprised 152 lots of drawings from all areas of Wilkie's oeuvre up to 1839.
17. Lugt No. 14349.  
"A Catalogue of a highly interesting collection of upwards of two hundred sketches in Pen and ink by David Wilkie Esq. R.A.; Consisting of first thoughts of groups and Figures and entire subjects for several of his most celebrated works; some of them with considerable variations from the Pictures and a portrait of Wilkie by Jackson; ...(etc.) will be sold by Auction by Messrs Christie and Manson ... on Wednesday May 11th 1836 and following day." Lots 68-96 (day 1) and 85-93 (day 2) were the drawings by Wilkie in this sale; "Smith" is identified in pen in the catalogue as the owner. This was possibly the dealer John Smith, specialist in Dutch, Flemish and French paintings and author of the nine-volume Catalogue Raisonne of the Works of ... Dutch Flemish and French Painters [Smith(1837)]. Smith may have bought this group of drawings directly from Wilkie. In the sale, they were largely bought by Boys, who appears to have been a dealer originally connected with Moon, the engraver and dealer. Boys was a buyer at the 1842 Wilkie sales as well as at the Windus sale; Lugt records the involvement of Boys in 16 sales between 1836 and 1859.

N.L.S. Ms 9836 f144: letter to Mr. Thomas Boys, June 18th 1836(? or 8): Wilkie, apparently at the request of Boys, vouches for the authenticity of "the Collection of Sketches and Drawings .. formed with so much care as the work of my hand." He also mentions that Boys had formed "the only set so far as I know that includes the whole that have been engraved of my works."

18. First Wilkie sale lot 162: Groups of hands, red chalk, five on one sheet, bt Hall £5.  
Windus sale lot 102: Six sketches, in pen and ink various, bt Passid £3.  
1836 (Smith)sale lot 108: 5 studies of figures, one with a sketch on the reverse, bt Boys 14/-.  
1860 Wilkie sale lot 39: Studies of female heads for various pictures, bt Harris 10/-.
19. Prices were rather inflated in the first Wilkie sale; the Windus sale, following only two months later and perhaps finding a flooded market, achieved comparatively low prices, although the 1836 Smith sale prices were also quite modest in comparison with those achieved in the first Wilkie sale. The prices paid in 1860 were only a fraction of those paid in 1842; by then, the Pre-Raphaelite style was popular.
20. First Wilkie sale lot 539: The Pool of Bethesda (1841.96), for example, was described as "slight", yet Forbes paid 11 gns for it.  
It should however be borne in mind that factors other than quality may have influenced the prices of specific drawings. Sentiment, speculation, or the inherent interest of the subject matter doubtless affected the prices paid at the first Wilkie sale.
21. Lead drawings can be identified in the first Wilkie sale: e.g. lots 427, 486, 487, 544, 546, 559, 570. Lot 546 (1840.109) is now at Glasgow University. Windus sale lots 36, 40 & 61, and 1860 sale lot 45 are also pencil drawings.
22. See first Wilkie sale lot 17: The Card Players, in colours, bt Bryant £2/15/-;  
Windus sale lot 98: The Dorty Bairn, pen and ink, bt Boys with 2 others £4/12/-;  
1860 sale lot 107: The Dorty Bairn, pen and ink (2), bt Bourne 9/-.
23. Wilkie's journals, quoted by Cunningham, show him in the early stages of his working life trying out different colours on the final canvas, and laboriously taking out and replacing coloured areas which did not blend (see Cun I pp 199-299 passim for The Cut Finger and The Village Festival). Later, this problem

of colour composition was resolved by the use of coloured drawings, perhaps under the influence of Reynolds (1959) p 34 where the primary importance of thinking in terms of both colour and drawing from the inception of a design is pointed out.

24. See, for example first Wilkie sale lots 160-187 and 245-281.  
Burnet (1860) pp 236-237 remarks on Wilkie's use of black chalk at the Trustee Academy.
25. 1860 sale lot 88(c).
26. 1860 sale lot 274.
27. First Wilkie sale lot 32.
28. First Wilkie sale lot 298.
29. 1860 sale lots 279, 265, 41.
30. For example:  
First Wilkie sale lot 209: Cranmer seated, his arm bared, very spirited, bt Smith 11 gns.;  
lot 210: Ditto, slightly tinted, bt Newinghays £8/18/6;  
lot 244: Arrest of a Cardinal, tinted, bt Colnaghi £6.
31. See Chapter 10, pp 130-144.
32. Many of the later drawings would be of a more glamorous and attractive type than the early works; the fact that Wilkie more and more treats his drawings as coherent units, rather than minute studies of tiny parts of figures would also make them more saleable. However the early works were widely known through the medium of engraving. Particular interest in individual drawings such as portraits would affect some prices, but the general preferment for later works is very marked.
33. First Wilkie sale lots 669-689: 'Pictures by Various Masters', included Scottish and English artists which were more likely to have been correctly attributed but which did not fetch particularly high prices. The Attierie 'Correggio' is not now considered to be genuine; the same may apply to others. The low prices paid by dealers for the 'Old Masters' may be due also to the degree of finish - not always described in the catalogue.
34. Greaves (1966), p 82: "...Wilkie struck a personal response from him, which he expressed in a symbolic and romantic gesture. Amongst his most cherished possessions had been Hogarth's own mahl stick; but on seeing The Village Politicians he impulsively

presented it to this raw young man as a painter worthy to possess it."

Second Wilkie sale lot 273: HOGARTH'S MAHL STICK, presented to Sir David Wilkie by Sir G. Beaumont, bt Hall 3 gns.

35. Allan (1850) lists  
lots 273-360: Dresses;  
lot 361: A Number of Easels, Busts, and other Materiele for the (?) to be sold in lots;  
lots 362-480: Ancient Armour and Warlike Weapons [referred to in the sale title as his 'Superb Collection ...the Eastern Portion of which were collected during his Travels in the Crimea, Russia Tartary and Turkey'.]

Many of the household implements used for Wilkie's genre subjects may have been kept by the family as part of the house furnishing.

36. See Chapter 4, pp 44-45, with reference to Bell and Graham.
37. Miles, H, Scottish Art Review XIII No.2 (1971), pp 1-6 and p 29, discusses Wilkie's illustrations to the first collected edition of the Waverley Novels, published by Cadell from 1830 to 1834.  
Wilkie was approached by Cunningham to illustrate The Maid of Elvar - see 1860 sale lot 63: 9 studies for the design in Cunningham's poems.
38. First Wilkie sale lots 330-347: From Ancient and Modern Masters; lots 395-407: From Old Masters.
39. First Wilkie sale lot 686: Zoffany, Portrait of a Gentleman, small whole length in a landscape, bt Norton £3/5/-.
40. First Wilkie sale lot 681: Teniers, Interior of a kitchen with an old man in conversation with a woman, who is frying pan-cakes, painted in a silvery tone, bt Tiffin 17 gns.
41. First Wilkie sale lot 676: Watteau, A subject from a comedy of Moliere, bt Tiffin £2/5/-;  
lot 678, Watteau, A musical party of three gentlemen and two ladies, in a garden scene, bt Emery £29/8/-.
42. First Wilkie sale lot 680: Rubens, The Apotheosis of James I a finished study for the centre of the ceiling of White Hall, bt Tiffin £84.  
The price paid suggests that this was accepted as genuine; it now appears to be lost: see Rowlands(1977) p 135, Cat.179.



43. First Wilkie sale lot 682: Correggio, The Notte  
bt Norton £6/16/6;  
lot 689: Correggio, La Strada alla Gloria, 'this  
interesting work was formerly in the Attieri [sic]  
Palace', bt Letch £157/10/-.
44. First Wilkie sale lot 336: The Last Supper, from  
Titian, in the Escorial, bt Holloway £3.  
1860 sale lot 211: Grande Gloria de Titiano -  
Escorial, Oct. 17: in colours, bt Harris 17/-;  
lot 212: Our Saviour at Gethsemane, after  
Titian, in the Escorial - in colours, bt  
Hogarth £1/2/-.
45. First Wilkie sale lot 675: Murillo, His own  
Portrait, a copy, bt Neville £8/18/6;  
lot 332: ... A Virgin and Child from a Murillo  
at Seville, bt Anderson [with one other] £1/4/-;  
lot 334: The Holy Family, after Murillo, bt  
Carpenter £2/15/-;  
lot 335: Relieving Poor at the gate of a Convent,  
from Murillo, bt Graves £5;  
lot 343: The Virgin and Child, [from] Murillo,  
bt Marrant £2/15/-.
46. First Wilkie sale lot 331: A Soldier from  
Rembrandt...bt Colnaghi [with one other] £2/6/-;  
lot 395: Burgomaster Six, at Amsterdam, [from]  
Rembrandt, bt Eggleton £1/2/-;  
lot 396: Two Remembrances of Rembrandt, at  
Amsterdam, bt Hall £1/6/-.
47. First Wilkie sale lot 337: Sketch from the  
Madonna della Peche of Raffaele [sic], bt Marrant  
£3/5/-;  
lot 340: Head of Raffaele, bt Schloss £1/11/6.
48. First Wilkie sale lot 344: An Altar Piece,  
P. Veronese, bt Schloss £1/15/-.
49. One of the four he owned was listed as after  
Velasquez - first Wilkie sale lot 677:  
Portrait of a Princess of Spain, after Velasquez,  
bt Passid £2/5/-.
- First Wilkie sale lot 680\*: Portrait of the  
Infante Don Balthazar Prospero, when young,  
whole length, in a rich dress, this is said to  
have been the last picture painted by Velasquez.  
This picture is minutely and favorably described  
by Palomino, the Vasari of Spanish art, bt  
Norton £44/2/-;  
lot 683: Portrait of an Abbot, finely painted,  
bt Simpson £13/2/6;  
lot 688: Portrait of the Alcada Ranguillo in a  
black dress with a rapier; admirably painted, whole  
length, from the Altamira collection, bt Hall £157/10/-.  
[The three above attributed to Velasquez].



50. First Wilkie sale lot 345: Olivarez, from Velasquez, bt Allan £2;  
 lot 346: A Young Prince, Ditto, bt Schloss £1;  
 lot 347: A Cardinal, Ditto, bt Bryant 16/-;  
 lot 404: Recollection of Velasquez, at Vienna, bt Stodart £1/11/-;  
 lot E (p 17): The Infanta, after Velasquez, coloured, bt Johnston 15/-.
- 1860 sale lot 213: Study from a picture by Velasquez, in the Palazzo Lomellini, in colours, bt Thomas 10/-;  
 lot 214: Philip II and the Queen of Spain, after Velasquez, bt Brabazon 17/-.

51. B.M. Add Ms 29991 is a volume including letters from Wilkie to Peregrine Pickle Nursey, dated between 1814 and 1826: published in The Academy, September 28th 1878, pp 323 f, and October 5th 1878, pp 345 f.

Perry Nursey had studied with Alexander Nasmyth. Helen Wilkie was engaged to Robert Nursey, who died very suddenly in 1824; thereafter, the connection between the two families was allowed to lapse.

See Marks (1968) p 244 and p 397 n.68;  
 Turner (1840) pp 87-90.

52. N.G.I. Ms 5238 1374.

Mrs. Christina Colvin, 7th August 1966, private communication, writes:

"Obviously Maria Edgeworth met [Wilkie] ... probably either in late October 1818 or March 1819 when she was also staying with Lady E. Whitbread". In the typically long letter referred to above, Miss Edgeworth denies ownership of more than "two notes of civility and kindness before and after his visit to Edgeworthstown." Despite her scruples at making public any private correspondence, she gives much interesting comment on Wilkie and his works, lending support to Mrs. Colvin's view that there is a strong parallel between Edgeworth's Irish novels and Wilkie's genre pictures.

"The 'Glossary' to Castle Rackrent, and the similar addition she made to Mrs. Leadbetter's Cottage Dialogues (1811), show the same interest in the detail of rural life - and indeed, so do her childrens' stories. It is easy to see why she and Wilkie got on well together" (Colvin, Op.Cit.).

53. Raimbach (1843): a volume of Raimbach's Memoirs in a private Scottish collection contains a small group of drawings, some by Wilkie (1819.19, 1819.34, 1822.14, 1822.15, 1827.10, 1831.3, 1833.3, 1833.35, 1834.139, 1834.140, 1835.115), and others (e.g. Plate 36a) related to his work.
54. See note 10.
55. The Folio Society had in 1966 a group of drawings from the Butler sale, including Paul and Virginia (1799.1) and Diana and Calisto (1803.1).
56. Among a set of drawings sent to me by Alistair Matthews for identification were the following twelve: 1811.6, 1819.30, 1824.30, 1830.5, 1833.56, 1833.60, 1833.61, 1834.52, 1835.142, 1836.7, 1837.8a, 1837.8b. They were mounted on the same yellowish paper as that in the N.G.S. Scrapbook, and were subsequently re-united with that volume. Plate 200 (1823.7) illustrates one of the numerous pages in the Scrapbook which have had drawings excised.
57. Catalogues of the Royal Academy of Arts, illustrated with original drawings, autograph letters and portraits in possession of Edward Basel Jupp, F.S.A., Vol.VIII (1806): R.A. Library.
58. Hart, Solomon Alexander (1806-1881): apprenticed in 1820 to the engraver Warren, he later became a student of painting at the Royal Academy. He anticipated Wilkie's interest in Jewish subjects in 1830 with his Interior of a Jewish Synagogue at the Time of the Reading of the Law. He became Professor of Painting at the Royal Academy in 1855. His Reminiscences (1882) mention Wilkie.
59. The India Scrapbook, presented by Solomon Hart: Royal Academy of Arts Library, Press 7, Shelf 5, No. 154.
60. Stranger (1781-1792): see Reminiscences (1882).
61. Stranger (1789).

### Chapter 3

1. Minutes of the Board of Trade for Fisheries and Manufacturies (hereafter referred to as Minutes of the Board), 21st February 1798: S.R.O. N.G.1/1/29, p 390.
2. See Basil Skinner on Roderick Chalmers' group portrait of the Edinburgh Trades: On Cutting Up Pictures, The Glasgow Herald, 11th April 1959. A drawing for this painting exists in the N.G.S. Prints and Drawings Dept.: No. D.3316.
3. James Norie (1684-1757): see Watkeys (1908) Vol.I, p 356. "old Norie's" descendants, named Robert for three successive generations, continued the business of decorative painting in the Old Town of Edinburgh until 1845 at 141 High Street. A second establishment, "Robert Norie and Son, Colourmen, Painters and Floor Cloth Manufacturers", was at 130 West Register Street until 1850.  
See also Chambers (1825) Vol.I, p 156.  
For a full account of art in Edinburgh in the later 18th century see Macmillan (1974).
4. Alexander Runciman (1736-1785) was sent to Rome by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, in order to improve his art sufficiently to be able to complete a decorative scheme for Penicuik House. For the relationship between patron and artist, see E.U.L. Mss La IV 26f, and S.R.O. Mss Clerk of Penicuik GD 18/4679, GD 18/4680.
5. William Aikman (1682-1731) of Cairney sold his estate in order to study abroad; see Brydall (1889) pp 103-106.
6. For Scottish artists in Rome see Skinner (1966).
7. See Brydall (1889) pp 110-111.
8. Ibid. p 111.
9. Ibid. p 113; Dennistoun (1855) Vol.I, p 26. This school was held during the winter months only, from 1735. Richard Cooper (d.1764) was principally an engraver, and was considered an "excellent draughtsman" by Sir Robert Strange, his pupil (Dennistoun 1855 Vol.I, p 23).
10. Sir Robert Strange (1721-1792): see Dennistoun (1855).
11. Strange (1769).

12. The refusal of Strange to engrave portraits by Ramsay of the Prince of Wales and Lord Bute led to a quarrel between Strange and Ramsay in 1759 (Dennistoun(1855)Vol.I pp 272-284; Vol.II pp293-306). The consequent loss of Royal favour hindered Strange's career, and contributed to the exclusion of engravers on the formation of the Royal Academy: see Strange (1775).
13. An example of this can be seen in the Portrait of Sir John Inglis of Cramond (N.G.S. No. 2151): the painting of the wig is of much inferior quality to that of the head.
14. Smart(1953) p 72.
15. E.U.L. Mss La III 363: Letters and Papers connected with Robert Foulis and Co., Printers, at Glasgow. Principally in reference to that project for forwarding the Fine Arts in Scotland 1751-1764. The first sheet of this volume of papers relating to the Foulis Academy is entitled Memorial of Robert Foulis and Company to the Right Honourable the Lords of the Treasury, in which it is claimed that "At the time when this undertaking was begun, there was nothing of the kind in Great Britain".
16. See Brydall (1889)pp121-130; Irwin(1975), Chap.5.
17. Irwin (1975) pp 85-90.  
See also note 15.
18. E.U.L. Mss La III 363, 7th sheet: "an enterprise to which they gave so cold a reception".
19. Ibid.: "a little canvas and a small value in colours are all the materials for the finest picture".
20. Ibid.
21. Minutes of the Board, 24th January 1760: S.R.O. N.G. 1/1/15 p 126.
22. Act of Parliament 27 George III, c.13 (1787).
- 22a. Fraser-Harris, D.F., William de la Cour, painter, engraver and teacher of drawing, Scottish Bookman, I, January 1936, pp 12-19;  
Fleming, John, Enigma of a Rococo Artist, Country Life CXXXI, 24th May 1962, pp 1224-1226.  
De la Cour (c.1697-1767) is represented in the N.G.S. Prints and Drawings Dept. by D.280: Portrait of John Brown the Artist in red chalk.



23. Edinburgh Evening Courant, 12th and 14th July 1760.
24. Mason, John, The Edinburgh School of Design, Book of the Old Edinburgh Club XXVII, 1949, pp 68-69.
25. See Skinner (1966); Skinner (1973).
26. Runciman was Master from 1772 to 1785, and was dilatory in the production of industrial designs: S.R.O. N.G. 1/3/14, p 249; 25th July 1785.  
He was, however, considered a good draughtsman: E.U.L. Ms La IV 6, p 7; William Sharpe to Laing  
  
"On examining the drawings I bought today I am wonderfully delighted with them and entertain a far higher idea of Runciman's genius than I ever did before - it is wonderful that a man who painted and etched generally so very poorly - should sketch with such roundness and truth - but I perceive that as he finishes, in these drawings he spoils - the most laboured of what I have are stiff, and the shades injudiciously thrown - here is a puzzle for picturemongers".  
This could well have been said of some of Wilkie's productions.
27. E.U.L. Ms La IV 26: David Allan to the Earl of Buchan, 3rd December 1780.  
  
Allan (1744-1796) was Master from 1786 to 1796. Though he was commended by the Board, he was not universally admired: in E.U.L. Ms La IV 6, p 7, William Sharpe writes to Laing of Allan's illustrations to The Gentle Shepherd  
"Were it not that the book is dedicated to my great grandmother (Susanna, Countess of Eglinton) I would not give two pence for the drawings - for I have little value for any of Mr. Allan's works".
28. Mason, John, The Edinburgh School of Design, Book of the Old Edinburgh Club XXVII, 1949, p 73.
29. Irwin, F., Scottish Eighteenth Century Chintz and its Design, Burlington Magazine 107, 1965, pp457-8, 510-4.
30. Minutes of the Board, 28th June, 1797: S.R.O. N.G. 1/1/29, pp 317-318.

The candidates were:

- A: Walter Weir, history and portrait painter, Glasgow.
- B: John Wood, teacher of drawing, Edinburgh.
- C: John Graham, history painter, London.



- D: Alexander Sime, painter and teacher of drawing, Edinburgh.
- E: Robert Morrison, architect and draughtsman, Edinburgh.
- F: John Barber, carver and drawing master, Edinburgh.
- G: Eneas McPherson, Edinburgh. H: not recorded.
- I: James Demaria, No.50 Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, London.

- 31. SRO NG 1/1/29 p 321: Minutes of Board 5th July 1797.  
John Graham (1754-1817): see  
Marks (1968) pp 37-56;  
Irwin (1975) pp 94 ff;  
Miles, H., John Graham and the Trustee Academy,  
Scottish Art Review XIV(7), 1975, pp 17-20, 29-30.
- 32. SRO NG1/1/29 p 321: Minutes of Board 5th July 1797.  
George Romney (1734-1802), portraitist.
- 33. Ibid.  
John F. Rigaud (1742-1810), history painter and  
portraitist.
- 34. John McGowan (d. 1803) was an important collector  
and antiquary; he judged the drawing competition  
at the Trustee Academy in 1800 [S.R.O. N.G. 1/3/18,  
p 213: 30th January 1800]. His collection of Old  
and Modern Master drawings was apparently made  
available to students at the Academy, and Wilkie,  
according to Burnet, felt that they exerted an  
important influence [Burnet (1854) p 19]. The  
collection was sold at T. Philipe, London, 26th  
January 1804 ff. See Irwin (1975) p 169; Miles,  
Op.Cit., p 18.

George Walker (see note 57), in a letter to the  
Earl of Buchan dated 22nd December 1804 [E.U.L. Mss  
Gen 1429/22 f 3], recounts:

"The finest and most complete set of Strange's  
works I ever saw, was that of the late Mr MacGouan;  
which, on its coming to sale in London I desired  
Mr Philipe to buy for me if he could at Thirty  
Guineas. - It however sold for two or three pounds  
more. I regretted I could not afford to go further."  
Walker thought Strange's work superior to that of  
even the best of the old French engravers in  
capturing the characteristics of the painters  
imitated. He specifically alludes to a print of  
St John after Murillo, a Virgin and Child after  
Titian (from the Grasse family collection at Venice),  
an Hagar and Ishmael after Ludovico Caracci, and a  
Madonna after Guido.

35. Minutes of the Board, 5th July 1797: S.R.O.  
NG 1/1/29 p 321.
36. Ibid. Seven votes were cast for Graham and seven for Wood, with two abstentions.
37. Minutes of Board, 7th February 1798: S.R.O.  
NG 1/1/29 pp 375-377.
38. Minutes of Board, 13th December 1797: S.R.O.  
NG 1/1/29 p 348.
39. Ibid.  
See also Marks (1968) pp 37-38.
40. Minutes of Board, 12th December 1798: S.R.O.  
NG 1/1/29 pp 460-461.
41. It had even been considered quite acceptable for John Wood to claim that his competitive designs for the position of Master were derived from "Drawings, Prints, and books of Ornament" [Minutes of Board, 24th January 1798: S.R.O. NG 1/1/29 p 359].
42. Minutes of Board, 12th December 1798: S.R.O.  
NG 1/1/29 p 462.  
The use of casts in the education of draughtsmen had been commended by Robert Foulis: see EUL Ms La III, 363: verso of sheet 23:  
Draft of a petition To the Right Honourable the Lord Rector, the Principal, Dean of Faculty and Professors of the University of Glasgow:  
"For the purpose of drawing, good casts are better than the statues themselves, because they are of a uniform colour, while the antiques are so diversified and darkened in some places, that they cannot be so truly seen: and as the study of the antique is the principal reason for going to Rome, a collection of good casts after such statues would facilitate the education of painters and render it possible to make it very complete without their going there".
43. (1799.7): Wilkie's drawing for admission to the Trustee Academy.
44. (1799.8): one of Wilkie's earliest studies in red chalk.
45. Minutes of the Committee of the Board, 3rd November 1798, Article 3: S.R.O. NG 1/1/29 p 464.
46. Hadden (1898) pp 67-68.
47. Marks (1968) pp 27-29 discusses this incident.

47. Cun I pp 31 ff.
48. See note 45.
49. Minutes of Board, 28th June 1797: S.R.O. NG 1/1/29 pp 310-312: Edward Mitchell had assisted Wood with two drawings, but the Board had accepted Wood's assurance that the five drawings sent to London had been entirely his own work. On 5th February, however, the Board received a memorial from Peter Sime, confessing that he had done these drawings while locked up in Wood's house [S.R.O. NG 1/1/29 p128].
50. Minutes of Board, 5th March 1800: S.R.O. NG 1/1/29 pp 139-140.  
The Academy continued to cater for trade and manufacturing apprentices; see, for example, the Minutes of the Board for 26th February 1812 [S.R.O. NG 1/1/33 p 20], admitting a Japanner, a Modeler and a Painter to the school. In the following two years medical students, cabinet makers, an engraver, a carver gilder, a plasterer, a wright and a land surveyor were all admitted; it is therefore incorrect to assume that the Academy became entirely a school for history painting under Graham's direction. The present Art College in Edinburgh reflects the continuing importance of the industrial arts to the city.
51. Cun I pp 35-36.
52. Burnet (1860) p 237; Burnet (1854) pp 205-207.  
Wilkie, although training as a painter, was required to produce such designs. A letter from the Board to Sir John Clerk, dated 15th February 1804 [S.R.O. NG 1/3/19 p 134] mentions a drawing of "an ornamental design" by Wilkie among the productions which won him a premium of £9 and a commendation [S.R.O NG 1/3/19 p 143; letter from the Board to Graham, 7th March 1804].
53. Cun I p 65.
54. Minutes of Board, 22nd January 1817: S.R.O. NG 1/1/33 p 396.  
See also Wilson (1839) : Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Antique Statues in the Trustee Academy, Edinburgh.
55. Cun I p 54.
56. EUL Ms La III 363: see note 42.
57. George Walker (c.1781-1806): landscape artist, who exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1800 to 1815, and ran a modest Drawing Academy for young ladies in Hunter Square, Edinburgh. Owner of a private

collection of some importance, which was almost certainly known to Wilkie [Burnet (1854) p 18].

EUL Ms Gen 1429/22 f 5: letter from Walker to the Earl of Buchan, dated 18th February 1805:

"..by dint of persevering Industry joined to the most rigid economy (in everything else) I have for a long period of years been enabled to expend on works of Art upwards of a Hundred pounds per annum"

He was continuing occasionally to buy Italian Masters "providing the pictures were of the first class".

On 6th April 1806 he wrote

"..the plan of forming a Select Collection of designs by the great masters including Pictures drawings and Sketches was strongly recommended to me by my good friend Runciman as the most certain means of improving the Taste of my Pupils, of enabling them to appreciate the excellencies in the higher walks of Art and preparing them to relish the Antique itself." [EUL Ms Gen 1429/22 f 6].

A catalogue of Walker's collection was published in 1807 [Lugt 7273]. A letter dated 22nd December 1804 [EUL Ms Gen 1429/22] lists paintings in his collection before Wilkie left the Trustee Academy. This included the Strange prints listed in note 35. A picture of The Prodigal Son by Old Weenix, "excellent in the invention & composition and touched with a mellow and charming pencil" - Bamboccio, Holbein, Bourgognon, Wouwermans, Rembrandt, Ostade, Ruysdale, Du Jardine, Van Uden-Forgs, Frank Hals, Van der Velde, Marlow, Runciman and Jacob More, are all mentioned as being in the finest state of preservation.

58. EUL Ms Gen 1429/22 f 6: letter from Walker to the Earl of Buchan, dated 12th April 1806.



## Chapter 4

1. For the professional men among Wilkie's relatives, see Marks(1968) pp 23-24; Hall(1807) p 139.
2. David Wilkie, minister of Cults from 1773 to 1812, studied Greek, Hebrew and Philosophy, but was principally interested in Mathematics; he published The Theory of Interest in 1794.  
See Porter(1906) pp 42-51; Marks(1968) pp19 f.
3. Cun I p 16.
4. Cun I p 13; Marks(1968) pp 21-22.
5. Cunningham suggests that many drawings were in fact destroyed: Cun I p 69. See Chap.2, note11.
6. Cun I pp 17-19.
7. Cun I pp 69-70.
8. Cun I pp 23-24; Sinclair(1831) Vol.I, pp460 f; Haydon(1950) p 560 identifies the print as by Dighton.
9. Bernardin de St. Pierre, Paul et Virginie: first published in Paris in 1788. An illustrated edition was published in Paris in 1789, and in London in 1791; thereafter, most cultured British homes would probably have a copy.
10. Cun I pp 49-50.
11. The theme of the Fortune Teller recurs throughout Wilkie's oeuvre, making a final appearance in Josephine and the Fortune Teller. This tendency to reconsider subjects after reappraising drawings made many years previously makes the dating of many drawings impossible except on tenuous stylistic grounds; see Vol.2, pp iv ff.
12. When a schoolboy Wilkie had arranged "enacted scenes" from The Gentle Shepherd: Cun I p 26.  
Throughout his life he used themes from Scottish poetry - e.g. MacNeil's Will and Jean [for Village Politicians (1805) and Village Festival (1811)]; Thomson's Seasons [for Sheepwashing (1817)]; and the poems of Burns [for Duncan Gray (1814, 1819), and The Cottar's Saturday Night (1837)].



13. Allan had worked on "Two large historical pieces from the life of the unfortunate Queen Mary", and intended doing several pieces using old Scottish dresses to help him with the representation of the character and costume of the time: E.U.L. Mss La IV 26, Allan to the Earl of Buchan, 3rd December 1780.  
  
Several pen and wash drawings by Allan connected with this project can be seen in the N.G.S. Prints and Drawings Dept. (D 4597, D 4591, D 4592, D 4593, D 4594, D 4596, D 4612, D 4598, D 4595). The Queen's Escape from Loch Leven Castle (D 4594) shows Mary on the mainland, and bears no formal relationship to Wilkie's composition.  
  
John Graham also painted a Mary Queen of Scots Escaping (private collection): see Marks(1968) Plate 4, and p 345, note 34.
14. See Skinner(1973).  
  
The N.G.S. Catalogue of Scottish Drawings (1960) pp 24-27 lists Illustrations to Scottish Poems by Allan.
15. Weir, Walter (d.1816): a painter of Scottish genre, in the manner of David Allan, who is said to have studied in Italy. See N.G.S. Catalogue of Scottish Drawings (1960): D 2338a, D 2338b, D 2610a, D 2610b.
16. Carse, Alexander (d. c.1838): genre painter who forms a link between David Allan and Wilkie; illustrator of Burns, and of The Gentle Shepherd. Carse's subject matter is very close to early Wilkie, but his drawing style is coarser and shows no evidence of study from life. See N.G.S. Catalogue of Scottish Drawings pp 64-66; Marks(1968) p 354, notes 123 and 124.
17. Errington (1975), private communication.  
  
John Graham illustrated the same scene from Douglas (1791): Miles, Op.Cit.(1975), Plate 7.
18. The right hand side of this composition relates to the drawing of a tree and road (1804.1) from the family collection. The character of the composition is so close to the painting of The Highland Wedding by De Witt, at Penicuik House, with a bagpiper and dancers in the open air, that it seems likely that Wilkie had seen it.
19. Cun I p 34.

20. Allan, Sir William, P.R.S.A., R.A. (1782-1850); Master of the Trustee Academy 1826-1844. See Stenlake, Frances, Sir William Allan, unpublished dissertation for a postgraduate diploma, Edinburgh University 1970; N.G.S. Catalogue of Scottish Drawings, pp 30-36.
21. Cun I p 37, quoting Allan.
22. See, e.g., Knowles (1831) p 410f, on Fuseli's teaching at the R.A. in London:  
"It was no uncommon thing with him if he found in the Antique Academy a young man careless about the accuracy of his lines, and intent only upon giving a finished appearance to his drawing, to cut in, with his sharp thumbnail, a correct outline, and thus spoil, in the opinion of the student, his elaborate work."
23. Winckelmann (1850) pp 48-49, for example.
24. This was framed by the family as if it had some special significance. It may have been the drawing submitted by Wilkie to gain him admission to the Antique School of the Royal Academy
25. The drawing appears to be a typical academic exercise in the expression of three dimensional form on a two dimensional surface with pure line. Although its evident weakness suggests an early date, the Trustee Academy in Edinburgh did not apparently possess a cast of such a statue [see Wilson (1839)]; the drawing probably dates therefore from Wilkie's early months at the R.A., before he had attended the formal lectures on anatomy given by Bell. The possibility remains, however, that it was copied from a print.
26. See Godwin (1805) pp 35-46 on Graham's teaching methods.  
Burnet (1860) p 237 describes Graham at work:  
"The Academy hours were at that time from ten till twelve in the forenoon, and before breaking up, Graham would go his rounds, examining each drawing, the errors in which he corrected with his thumb-nail, making lines that took indelible precedence of every other."
- See also note 22.
27. Cun I p 42.

28. Cun I p 41.

David Thomson ( d. 1815 ), landscapist and brother of George Thomson, secretary to the Trustee Academy, won this competition with his Ghost of Banquo at the Feast; Wilkie came second: S.R.O. NG 1/1/31 p 210, 9th March 1803. The highest premium of £6 for an historical painting, and one of £2 for the best drawing from the round, went to Thomson, whose pieces were considered "far superior to the rest".

29. S.R.O. NG 1/3/19 p 55, 4th March 1803; letter from the Board to John Clerk Esq., Advocate, about his judging of the competition:  
"... There are four pictures marked A B C D and four drawings from the round marked 1 2 3 4 and the four other sketches are marked a b c d.  
... The pictures were designed and painted by these students as you will see, wholly from the Tragedy of Macbeth prescribed to them by the Master. There are also four small sketches in oil, which were done at once in the Master's presence from a subject prescribed by him for the purpose of satisfying him that the students had done the pictures (painted at home) without assistance."

See also Haydon (1950) p 33.

30. Irwin (1975) p 96 considers this a "competent exercise".

S.R.O. NG 1/3/19 p 134, 15th February 1804; letter to John Clerk Esq., Advocate, about awarding the premiums among five students:  
" A: [Wilkie] has a picture of his own composition and painting at least so I infer from Mr. Graham's letter inclosed, and that he has also a drawing from the round figure and an Ornamental design - three pieces.

B: A round figure and an ornamental design - two pieces.

C: An ornamental design or rather two separate pieces of that description.

D: Ornamental designs on one piece of paper.

E: A round figure.

Ibid. p 143, 6th March 1804; letter from the Board to Graham, awarding £9 out of the £15 allotted to Wilkie. Students were asked to call to collect the premiums, and Graham was instructed "that you may acquaint Messrs. Wilkie and Sherrif that their pieces were very much approved of."

- Cun I p 44 mistakenly dates Diana and Calisto as 1803, and quotes the premium as £10. Perhaps the subject for the competition was announced before Christmas 1803.
31. Cun I p 39.
- 31a. Ibid.
32. Cun I p 8: "In the year 1793, the minister of Cults was cured of a complaint by Dr. Bell".  
Bell (1870) p 16 notes that the sister of George and Charles lived in 'Cult', and that they visited her c. 1797. See Marks (1968) for discussion.
33. Cun I pp 89, 94; Haydon (1950) p 38.  
Haydon and Wilkie apparently gathered the audience for Bell's first lectures.
34. Haydon (1963) Vol V p 149, Journal May 4th 1842: "Wilkie drew for him the Frightened Man".  
Marks (1968) pp 82-83.  
Haydon (1950) p 38:  
"[Bell's] lectures were, in fact, his subsequent book, The Anatomy of Expression, for which Wilkie made several of the drawings. A miniature painter Saunders, drew the laughing head. Wilkie's best was, I think, Terror with the hands up."
35. 1860 sale lot 65d: Heads of a laughing girl and crying boy.  
Burnet (1860) p 237 relates how Wilkie alarmed his landlady in Edinburgh by pulling a 'greeting face' before his mirror and drawing himself. This closely follows Rembrandt's early practice in Leiden [c.f. Bartsch (1969) B 5.1]. Examples of such expression studies among Rembrandt's early self-portrait etchings would be known in Scotland through the David Geddes Collection [see Geddes (1804) pp 18-22, lots 1-84 and especially lots 1-3], and auction rooms in Edinburgh [Cun I p 38].  
See also Marks (1968) pp 81-82.
36. Bell (1883) pp v-vi: Preface to the Third Edition, by George Bell, professor of the Law of Scotland in Edinburgh University, died 23rd September 1843.



37. Ibid. p 16 (note): "When a child I remember him as a kind and somewhat facetious old gentleman, but chiefly because he gave me drawings to copy and called me 'Brother Brush'".
38. The Scottish art world was so small that most people knew each other and rapid interchange of ideas occurred. For example, in his letters to the Earl of Buchan, etc. [EUL Mss Gen 1429/22], George Walker refers to "my good friend" David Deuchar, and "my good friend Runciman"; he records submitting his "Collection of Scottish Scenery" to Henry Raeburn, and notes that he knew John Macgowan's collection.  
Stark (1806) p 276 says that Raeburn and Nasmyth "have large exhibition rooms, open to the inspection of the public".  
Marks (1968) p 56 notes the connection between Wilkie and Raeburn.
39. Bell (1883) p 194.
40. Ibid. p 200.
41. Burnet (1860) p 237.  
See also Burnet (1848) pp 101-108.
42. Godwin (1805) Chap. 4 passim.
43. Studies for Blind Man's Buff, e.g. (1812.4).  
Haydon (1950) pp 181-182 chided Wilkie for failing to use models in 1813.
44. Studies for 'drawing the net' (1824.9-10), and shooting scenes (e.g. 1824.3).
45. Two Women walking at Corswell (1838.25), and studies for Sir David Baird (1835.104).
46. Cun I p 76. Haydon (1963) Vol V p 267 however corrects Cunningham's bowdlerised version: "Haydon found him in puris naturalibus.."
47. Burnet (1848) p 106 ff.
48. Thomas Duncan R.S.A., A.R.A. (1807-1845).
49. Cun I p 117.  
See note 35.



50. Bell (1883) pp 195-199.
51. Ibid. p 10:  
 "...an academy figure,- probably some hired artisan, with his muscles unequally developed by the labour of his trade,- pale and shivering, and offering none of those fine carnations which more constant exposure gives to the body.."
52. Rouquet (1755) p 22.
53. Reynolds (1959) Discourse XIV p 247.
- 53a. On collections and exhibitions see Marks (1968) p 49, who discusses the exhibition in Edinburgh in July 1800 sponsored by the Liverpool dealer Thomas Vernon. This included works attributed to Teniers and Rubens. In 1803 Vernon sponsored a second exhibition, dominated by Dutch and Flemish paintings.
54. Cun I p 26.  
 David Martin (1737-1797) was a pupil of and assistant to Allan Ramsay. Wilkie considered that Martin "had in his portraits much both of the sentiment and colour which distinguish Sir Joshua Reynolds - that refinement which made all his women ladies, and all his men gentlemen." [Cun II p 127].  
 See also Marks (1968) p 26.
55. Cun I p 27: "He has been heard to say, that when as a boy he looked with despair on the pictures in oil which he saw in Melville House and Crawford Lodge, and wondered how such effects were produced."  
 An unclassified manuscript in the Annexe of the Fine Art Department of Edinburgh Public Library, in the hand of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, lists the contents of Lord Crawford's collection at the sale of 1827, including -  
 1. A Dutch kitchen.  
 4. A Dutch conversation.  
 21. A Candle-light Piece, a capital picture by Shalkan (sic).  
 22. A Landskip, by De Witte.  
 24. A Hermite.  
 30. Our Saviour and the Pharisee, after Rubens.  
 32. A Dutch Kitchen, a capital Picture by Rombouts.  
 35. An Old Man, a copy after Shalkan.  
 36. A Beggar, finely painted.

56. Newhall, 14 miles south of Edinburgh.  
By the mid-eighteenth century a collection of 400 paintings had been built up by John Forbes. See Ramsay (1808) [the Newhall Edition of The Gentle Shepherd] pp 442-451 for a list of the paintings, which included A Shipwreck with a Drowned Corpse by Alexander Carse.
57. Penicuik House, 10 miles south of Edinburgh. This contained some Dutch works which may have influenced David Allan, e.g. the De Witt Penny Wedding.
58. NLS Ms 9835 fol 9, letter to Macdonald [quoted in Cun I p 78].  
Wilkie would certainly have known the Runcimans in Walker's collection: see EUL Ms Gen 1429/22/3.
59. Cun I p 38.
60. Burnet (1854) p 180.
61. See Chap. 3, note 35.
62. See Chap. 3, note 57.
63. David Geddes sale catalogue (1804); Andrew Geddes sale catalogue (1845): see Bibliography.
64. John Clerk of Eldin's collection was sold by Winstanley and Sons, Edinburgh, on 14th March 1833.  
See also John Clerk, A Series of Etchings, chiefly of Views in Scotland, ed. David Laing, Bannatyne Club, 1855; Lockhart (1819) Vol II p 49.
65. David Deuchar (1743-1808). Seal engraver, who encouraged Raeburn [Guy (1916)]. Deuchar is of inestimable importance to Scottish art and taste, due to the dissemination of his prints after Dutch seventeenth-century masters, and after the compositions of David Allan.
66. Deuchar (1803).  
Deuchar's etchings, produced in Edinburgh, are not catalogued, and must be identified by size, subject and occasionally by date or inscription. His 1803 publication varies in content and arrangement from copy to copy.  
Deuchar's own compositions based on Dutch prototypes which may have had a bearing on Wilkie's work include a series of Scottish fiddlers, a series of small plates of beggars, one dated 1783, school scenes, one dated 1782, and several candlelight scenes. A group with a fiddler and a boy seen from

behind holding a hoop, signed and dated 'D.Deuchar fecit 1802', resembles Wilkie's Newsmongers. The large upright oval print of The Cut Finger with an old lady, a cat, and a youth leaning over a chair, relates to Wilkie's Cut Finger, as does a large horizontal composition of an old woman looking for nits in a child's hair.

A horizontal composition of Grace Before Meat is echoed in the left background of Wilkie's Penny Wedding. A small print of Four Card Players at Night, showing one silhouetted against the light, signed and dated 'D.Deuchar inv. 1784', is closely related to Wilkie's The Clubbists and The Card Players. More tenuously, Deuchar's two prints of philosophers in their studies, one signed and dated 'D.Deuchar inv<sup>t</sup> et sculp<sup>t</sup> 1786', can be seen as prototypes for Wilkie's Duke of Wellington Reading his Despatches, while the scenes of women suckling babies could relate to The Gypsy Mother.

67. Deuchar's etching of Scottish peasants in a landscape near Edinburgh (67 x 114 mm) is signed 'D.Deuchar f' at the left, on a seat.

Marks (1968) discusses Deuchar as a source for The Cut Finger (p 160) and the Portrait of Wilkie's Parents (p 139). Wilkie's later Letter of Introduction is based on a Dutch prototype - a Terborg composition: see Marks (1968) p 211.

68. Allan (1880) pp v, vi [reprint of the 1788 edition of The Gentle Shepherd; preface by David Allan, dedicated to Gavin Hamilton].

69. Ibid., p vi.

70. Cun I p 54.

Wilkie had been allowed to extend his stay beyond the normal period of two years; see SRO NG 1/1/31 p 89: Minutes of the Board for 25th November 1801. Nine students are mentioned as having "finished the usual time of two years", among them David Wilkie, David Thomson, William Allan and John Anderson, who petitioned the Board "to be continued for other two years". The Board agreed that "the nine young men above mentioned all whose petitions are attested by Mr Graham shall be continued for other two years".

This extension of study was common practice; the Minutes for 22nd January 1817 record that two men were allowed to continue more than two years [SRO NG 1/1/33 p 393], and that a Wm. Davie was allowed a further year [Ibid. p 405].

71. NLS Ms 9835 f 3:  
letter to Thomas Macdonald dated 24th December 1804:  
"I take a ride about eight miles now and then to teach a young lady formerly a private pupil of Mr Graham's."  
Graham thus appears to have assisted Wilkie with employment.  
See also Haydon (1963)p 73, Journal for 11th July 1841, on Wilkie's correspondence with Macdonald.
72. Wilkie knew Raeburn in Edinburgh, and counted him as a particular friend by 1808. They corresponded irregularly about London prices (e.g. NLS Ms 1003 f 74, 12th September 1817).
73. Cun I p 57.
74. See Andrews (1966) pp 6-7.
75. See Catalogue (1804.3).
76. The tree study is closer to the drawing (1804.3) than to the painting.
77. See the discussion of the development of The Village Festival (pp 64-71) and The Chelsea Pensioners (pp 89-108) for an analysis of the problems encountered in composing paintings from separate studies.
78. Cun I p 59.
79. Campbell (1969) illustrates and discusses this drawing (pp 398-400).
80. NLS Ms 9835 f 3:  
letter to Thomas Macdonald dated 24th December 1804.  
Cun I p 60 (note).
81. Cun I pp 29-30.
82. Oldhamstock's Fair (1796): NGS D 4395.  
See Errington (1975) p 6; Marks (1968) pp 60-61.
83. EUL Ms La IV 17: letter from J Aitken to the Earl of Buchan, dated 24th August 1821.
84. Ibid.
85. NLS Ms 9835 f 9-10: letter to Macdonald, dated 15th July 1805; Cun I p 78. Fuseli allowed David Allan "for all his bad drawing" to have "a considerable degree of merit".
86. Guy (1916) p 104.



## Chapter 5.

1. Cun I p 73.  
See also NLS Ms 9835 f 9: letter to Thomas Macdonald, dated 15th July 1805; quoted in Cun I p 77.
2. Wilkie's friendship with Haydon cooled when Wilkie achieved public honours while Haydon was venting his spleen against the bodies who awarded them. They were still in contact just before Wilkie left in 1840 for his journey to the East. Constable's friendship was of an altogether cooler, steadier nature, encouraged in the first place by being thrown together by their mutual patron Beaumont, and remaining sufficiently close for Constable to pose for one of the figures in Wilkie's Columbus of 1834.
3. Cun I p 74.  
Wilkie gained admission as a probationer by means of a drawing from the Niobe (1805.1).
4. Cun I p 91. Wilkie was admitted on 28th November 1805: see Hutchison, Sidney C., 'The Royal Academy Schools 1768-1830', Walpole Soc. XXXVIII, pp 123-191, esp. 162 (1960-1962).
5. Cun I pp 81-82: letter to John Anderson.  
Wilkie found the expense of living in London far exceeded that of Edinburgh.  
Haydon (1963) Vol V p 265: diary entry 24th April 1843. Haydon corrects Cun I p 74:  
[Wilkie] "was obliged to get his own living and therefore could not like us, Jackson supported by Lord Mulgrave and I by my father, come at the regular hour [to the Academy]; before he came he had to work and paint for subsistence."
6. Cun I p 74.
7. Cun I p 80: letter to his brother James.
8. Cun I p 82: letter to John Anderson.
9. William Stodart not only introduced Wilkie to the Earl of Mansfield but also, in 1806, commissioned three portraits of members of his family and bought The New Coat of 1807: Cun I p 85.  
See also Masson (1971) p 582.  
Wilkie also painted Captain Ramage in 1806 (Cun I p 93), a commission gained through his family friend Dr Darling.



10. NLSMs 9835 ff 9-10: 15th July 1805.  
Cun I p 77: "I understand this year's Exhibition (sic) comparitatively was but a very poor one which allways will be considered so when the principle pictures are portraits".
11. Ibid.; quoted in Cun I p 79.
12. See Text p 32.  
Wilkie probably brought letters from Graham to Flaxman and Nollekens, and possibly also to Fuseli and West. His admiration for West must have been inculcated by Graham, who admired West's Death of Wolfe (1771) sufficiently to use it as a reference for his own composition The Death of General Fraser. Wilkie had a print of Graham's work while at the Trustee Academy.
13. Cun I p 270.  
Mr Thomas Hope, through Seguier the dealer, withdrew a commission "probably because Wilkie was engaged upon portraits". Wilkie indignantly made it clear that he considered it better to paint portraits for money than to turn his subject pictures into pot-boilers.  
See also note 5.
14. Cun I p 76.  
James Barry (1741-1806) worked on six paintings representing The Progress of Human Culture for the Great Room of the Society of Arts from 1777 to 1783.
15. Minutes of the Society of Arts, 1806, p 260: "Wilkie and Geddes allowed into the Society's House to take copies of Barry's paintings".  
Whitefoord Papers: BM Add Ms 36594 f 144; published in Hewiss (1898)
16. The Blind Fiddler and The Village Politicians.
17. Uwins (1858) Vol I pp 25-26.
18. Ibid.  
Uwins did only one drawing: The Grecian Harvest.
19. Cun I Chap. 4, pp 73-114.
20. Cun III p 182: "...art is never encouraged to a great extent for the love of art, but for some acceptable service, of utility or gratification, which art has the means of furnishing to the community or to individuals."

21. The Village Politicians, exhibited R.A. 1806, 2'6" x 3'4"; sold for 30 gns. (Cun I pp 99-116).  
The design for this picture was begun in Scotland: see Cun I p 112; Andrews (1966) pp 6-7.  
Haydon (1963) Vol V p 118: diary entry 9th January 1842:  
"I called on poor little Macdonald, Wilkie's early Patron and Friend, for he first gave him a Commission, in Edingburgh (sic), for the 1st Village Politicians. I found him ill and in poverty, with an early picture of Wilkie's to sell."  
Ibid. note 6 cites this picture as having passed into the possession of Dr Darling.
22. John Jackson (1778-1831): portraitist.  
See Cun I p 95.
23. Greaves (1966) p 80.  
Farington called Beaumont an unreliable patron, but Sir George's constant kindness to Wilkie and patience with the ambitious Haydon disprove this view.
24. Beaumont's collection, now in the National Gallery, London, included Claude's Hagar and the Angel and (as a present to Lady Beaumont) Rubens's splendid Chateau de Steen.  
Cun I p 174: journal for 21st May 1808, records a visit with Haydon to Angerstein's, and Wilkie's delight with "that select and choice collection".  
Marks (1968) pp 127 ff contains a discussion of the influence of London collections on Wilkie.
25. Wordsworth was a regular visitor at Coleorton [see, e.g. Greaves (1966) pp 118-125]; Wilkie was there in 1809, and at Dunmow convalescing in 1810 [Ibid p 86].
26. Wordsworth (1969) Vol II p 518: letter to Beaumont dated 16th November 1811:  
"Wilkie's style of Painting does not require that the mind should be fed from books; but I do not think it possible to excel in landscape painting without a strong tincture of poetic spirit."  
Beaumont advised Wilkie to read Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, Richardson, Fielding, Smollett and especially 'Don Quixote'.  
For further discussion of the relationship between Wordsworth and Wilkie see Marks (1968) pp 110-113.

27. Reading the Preface to the Lyrical Ballads, Wilkie "could not be brought at all to coincide with the fundamental principles of his system" [Cun I p 249]. Later, however, in his Remarks on Painting [Cun III pp 163-4], Wilkie expressed very similar views:  
 "... preferring the most plain and simple ideas, and proceeding upon the certain axiom that the most interesting object to man is man, it follows that whatever has relation to man, or bears the semblance of his image, will most readily engage the sympathies of his class and kind, who appreciate works of art only by their supposed reference to the business and enjoyments of life." This is similar to Wordsworth's expression of his own intentions [Wordsworth (1963) p 244:  
 "The Reader will find that personifications of abstract idea rarely occur in these volumes; and are utterly rejected ... I have wished to keep the Reader in the company of flesh and blood persuaded that by so doing I shall interest him."  
 See also Text pp 225-226.
28. Wordsworth (1963) p 244.
29. Cun III p 149: "... a picture should be as a mirror held up in which he might see the true impress of nature..."
30. Bell (1883) p 191 advises that a student should understand the inner structure of the body before attempting the "indefinite and undulating surface of the antique".
31. Ibid. p 200.  
 The best known Academy model was Samuel Strowager, whom C.R. Leslie deemed "the most symmetrical of models in the Life School"[Leslie(1951) p 13].
32. On the same sheet as (1809.1) is a study for a related figure from The Village Festival. Other interrelationships can be traced through the Catalogue: e.g. the study of A Girl Tiring Her Hair (1818.15) was used in preliminary oil sketches for The Chelsea Pensioners and also for The Cottage Toilette.
33. Cun I pp 103 ff.
34. In the following year (1807) he could write to his brother John:  
 "I believe I do not exaggerate when I say that I have at least forty pictures bespoke, and some by the highest people in the kingdom..." [Cun I p 158].

35. The smallest were The Jews Harp (10" x 8") and The Clubbists (9" x 7").
36. For a discussion of the dating of The Clubbists see Vol 2 pp iv ff.  
Wilkie's work struck a chord with John Galt, who sent him some pieces including his poem The Penny Wedding after seeing The Village Politicians. [Gordon (1972) pp 10-11]. Galt's recording of a passing way of characteristic Scottish life and manners can be likened to Scott. Gordon [Ibid. p 142] points out that Galt's 'reality' is in fact, like Wilkie's, carefully contrived.
37. Farington (1924) Vol IV p 238: diary, 12th December 1807:  
"[Constable] was with Wilkie yesterday who told Him that when he has made a Sketch for a picture & settled His design, He then walks about looking for a person proper to be a model for completing each character in his picture, & He paints everything from the life."  
See also Haydon (1950) pp 181-182.  
c.f. Graham's advice to Wilkie: Cun I p 117.
38. The Dorty Bairn is known only through engravings [see, for example, The Wilkie Gallery]. The subject is closely related to Sunday Morning, described in Cun I pp 128-129; the latter was painted in 1806 for Lord Mulgrave, who paid 10 gns. for this small canvas (1'6" x 1'1"). The subjects of The Dorty Bairn - a mother showing a weeping girl her face in a mirror - and Sunday Morning - a child having his neck scrubbed by his mother - may both stem from the same group of preparatory studies (1806. 13-17).  
See also Marks (1968) p 87.
39. Raimbach (1843) p 156.
40. Cun I p 134.
41. Farington (1924) Vol V p 48: diary, 1st April 1808.
42. Haydon (1963) Vol I pp 78-79. For Haydon's later attitude to satire see Ibid. Vol III p 346 (1st March 1829).
- 42a. Cun I p 159. Wilkie was to use this device throughout his life.
43. Bell (1883) pp 82-83.
44. NLS Ms 9835/13-4: letter from Beaumont to Wilkie, dated 20th November 1806; quoted in Cun I p 123.



45. Ibid.: Beaumont reminded Wilkie that the Alfred was "out of the line in which you are known".  
Cun I p 133: Wilkie, in a letter to Boyd Kinnear in the autumn of 1806, described genre as "probably most suited to my abilities".
46. Cun II p 8: letter to Samuel Dobree, dated 8th January 1818, about the commission for The Death of Sir Philip Sydney.
47. The Rent Day: completed 1807; 1'11" x 2'11"; on loan to Sheffield Art Gallery.  
Raimbach (1843) p 159 identifies the elder girl as the child of Lady Mulgrave's sister, who was the sitter for the widow.  
See Marks (1968) pp 128-135.
48. The Cut Finger: completed 1809; 1'2" x 1'4"; painted on panel for Samuel Whitbread.  
See Marks (1968) pp 159-161.
49. See Chap. 4, pp 45-47.
50. The Blind Fiddler, The Jews Harp and The Card Players, for example. See Raimbach (1843) p 162.
51. See Allan (1850): Sale of Effects, lot 486.  
Wilkie continued his studies in anatomy, and maintained contact with doctors and men of science throughout his life. He owned Blumenbach's Physiology, a book recommended by Bell, and Walker's Analysis of Beauty (1836).
52. Cun I p 250.  
The Village Festival: also known as The Ale-house Door or The Village Holiday: completed 1811; 3'2" x 4'4"; Tate Gallery.
53. Cun I p 200 records that on 1st October 1808 Wilkie had received a commission from Angerstein, leaving time, subject and price entirely to himself. On 28th April 1810 Wilkie affirmed to Lawrence that he intended The Alehouse Door for Angerstein "in some measure". [Cun I p 293].
54. Alfred: 3'7" x 5'1"; Village Festival: 3'2" x 4'4".
55. Cun I p 276.
56. Cun I p 237: journal, 2nd June 1809.



57. Cun I p 236.
58. Cun I p 237.
59. Cunningham records many visits to collections with Dutch paintings: e.g. Cun I pp 209, 268, 295, 298. But by 4th March 1810 Wilkie already expresses admiration for the greater masters Titian, Rembrandt and Rubens [Cun I p 280].
60. Cun I p 186.
61. Ibid.
62. Wilkie now longed for the independence from interference associated with subject painting. Mr Neave was very troublesome, but one can see why he called the work "my unfortunate picture". The composition is uninspired, and Mrs Neave looks quite vacant. The Family of Thomas Neave, with eight figures, sold for £200; 1'8" x 2'2".
63. Cun I p 256.
64. Cun I p 236.
65. Cun I p 237.
66. See, e.g., Cun I p 258: journal entries for 10th-12th October 1809.
67. John Liston (1776-1846): one of the best known comedians of the time. He was used as a model for the man proffering a bottle to the principal character.
68. Bell (1883) p 199 warns that actors have a different set of conventions for expressions on the stage from those which are appropriate on canvas. Liston in The Village Festival [see note 67] does seem exaggerated.
69. See, e.g., Cun I p 259: journal, 14th October 1809: "My female model came at 10, and I painted from her the neck and arms of the little girl pulling the principal figure homeward, but finding that a better model for the hair might be had, I rubbed it out again."
70. Bell (1883) p 61: "When Zeuxis [c.420-390 BC] was employed on his Helen, five of the most beautiful women were before him, from whom he composed his perfect beauty."

71. In attempting always to paint from life Wilkie was obliged to pay most of his models. Thus, in spite of using himself or his friends as models whenever possible, his expenses for a painting invariably exceeded the amount he was paid. He therefore painted small variations and versions more quickly for sale. These are often inferior in quality and seem to employ assistance on occasions - they are therefore difficult to distinguish from contemporary copies. For example, a high quality copy of the left hand side of The Village Festival, showing the landlord and including the figure of Liston, exists in a private collection in London.
72. Cun I p 262: journal, 1st November 1809.
73. Cun I pp 262-263: journal, 3rd November 1809.
74. Cun I p 262: journal, 1st November 1809.
75. Cun I p 259-260: journal, 18th October 1809.
- 75a. Cun I pp 274-275: journal, 27th January 1810:  
"Made, when I came home, a sketch with the pen of my picture of The Alehouse Door, and tried an elevation in the staircase of the centre house."
76. Cun I p 293: journal, 27th April 1810:  
"I looked at various pictures, and took particular notice of Bird's, which, for expression of his figures, and execution of his utensils, are very great; but, upon the whole, they strike me to be deficient in painting and colour: his flesh is heavy, and he seems to have no idea of keeping in the general effect. They exhibit, however, a very great effort."
- Edward Bird (1772-1819) made his mark in the 1810 exhibition at the expense of Wilkie. His works (see Wolverhampton Art Gallery) are detailed but have neither Wilkie's powers of characterisation nor of composition.
77. Cun I p 298: journal, 24th May 1810.  
Thomas Heaphy (1775-1835): President of the Society of British Artists, he was noted for his representational treatment of genre subjects.
78. William Mulready (1786-1863): a friend of Wilkie who had come into contact with John Graham as a boy, he also responded to the developing British taste for minute handling. Redgrave (1890) p 274 says: "Mulready appears to have begun his work after much more preparation even than Wilkie". Rorimer (1972) shows Mulready developing from 1805 to 1814, from a tonal approach [e.g. V&A 6008] to

precise analytical observation [e.g. V&A 6089]. This detailed accuracy was developed further in the later drawings, now in the Whitworth Gallery, Manchester. Wilkie's interest was in a more general or 'reformed' nature, despite his low life subjects - hence his study from several models for the same figure in a painting.

Mrs Kathryn Helenick's thesis on Mulready is to be published by Yale University Press.

79. Cun I p 305.

80. Joanna Baillie (1762-1851): poet and playwright, sister to Wilkie's physician Dr Matthew Baillie. See Chap. 6, pp 73-74.

81. John Julius Angerstein (1735-1823): connoisseur whose collection formed the basis for the National Gallery in 1824 [Boase (1959) p 203].

For a catalogue of the Angerstein Collection see Young (1823).

82. Problem drawings.

Some very interesting problems do exist for The Village Festival, which was obviously a very popular and much copied painting. Some of these copies have achieved wide acceptance as authentic works by Wilkie himself; one rather heavily worked watercolour was published as a Wilkie by Adrian Bury in his book Two Centuries of British Watercolour Painting (1950). Wilkie's picture sacrificed general effect to over-elaborate detail, but this drawing, with its flat figures and empty spaces between the groups, shows the fault to a much more marked degree, and can be discarded on grounds of style. A second drawing in watercolour of the principal group, in a private collection, is also attributed to Wilkie. Although of good quality, and not a slavish copy from the picture, it employs a technique which, as far as is known, was foreign to Wilkie. The speckled effect, produced by building up forms with many tiny brush strokes of bright colour, is much more characteristic of later nineteenth century British drawing; stilted passages in the drapery of the two females, together with some very harsh outlines, confirm the impression that it is not by Wilkie's hand [Plate 45a].

A group of related drawings, in the Swinton collection, shows some affinities with authenticated works by Wilkie. These drawings were first recorded in the catalogue of

the sale of the Charles Hargitt Collection at Liverpool in 1879, where they were described as "a series of 8 cartoons for The Village Festival" and wrongly attributed to Wilkie [Plate 46]. Although it would be fascinating to be able to prove that Wilkie did make preparatory watercolour studies for each of the principal figure groups, for the composition divides naturally into eight, this remains conjecture. The Swinton drawings may be copies of cartoons by Wilkie, but they lack character in heads and hands, and the quality of draughtsmanship is flaccid in comparison with that of autograph drawings by Wilkie of this time. Perhaps they should be attributed to F.W. Wilkin, who was responsible for a crude copy in oil (now in the Brighthouse Art Gallery, Leeds) of The Village Festival, in which the architectural elements show similar heavy handling [Plate 47].

Finally, the watercolour in the Victoria and Albert Museum [Plate 44] should also be included in this group as a doubtful Wilkie; it seems much closer in style to the Swinton drawings than to any known Wilkie.

The large group of copied watercolours bears witness to the continued interest manifested in Wilkie's Village Festival after the closure of his exhibition, in June 1812, in which it had held pride of place. Copies were apparently made at the British Institution in 1842, following the Memorial Exhibition: The Art Union (1842) Vol IV p 212 notes that

"The exhibition of the Work of the late Sir David Wilkie, at the British Institution, closed on Saturday, the 27th August. As usual with the works of old masters, a certain number will be left for the students to copy."



## Chapter 6.

1. Thomas MacDonald was one of Wilkie's early friends, corresponding with him 1804-1805, when Wilkie was in Fife, about his ideas on art [Haydon (1963) Vol V p 379] as well as on practical matters. MacDonald kept these letters, "to him - valuable" [Haydon (1963) Vol V p73]. In a letter to his father, dated October 21st 1805 [Cun I p 89], Wilkie refers to him as "my old friend MacDonald the engraver in Edinburgh" who is "come to town lately to push his fortune". Wilkie employed him for several years as many business letters in the National Library of Scotland and the Fitzwilliam Museum show. A typical letter is that in a private collection, dated 19th October(?) 1813, about the framing of a portrait of Dr Thomson, etc.  
  
As Wilkie's career and reputation outstripped MacDonald's the friendship cooled. By 28th August 1816 [HEH HL 1044], Wilkie wrote to Raimbach: "With respect to MacDonald's business I have made my solicitor take up the business to bring it to a close ... I wish it entirely at an end. - for Mac - with every assistance seems quite incapable of managing even his own defence". At the time of Wilkie's death MacDonald was ill and in poverty [see Chap. 5 note 21]; he died the following summer.
2. Burnet (1850) p 275: " .. the fame created by the 'Village Politicians' produced such a sensation that I hastily finished every engagement, and set sail for London."
3. NLS Ms 1003 f 75: letter from Raeburn to Wilkie dated 12th September 1819; published in Greig (1911) p xlvii.
4. New College, Edin. Mss Cha. 4.14.39 ff 462-463.
5. New College, Edin. Ms Cha. 4.1.12: letter from Wilkie to Chalmers dated 27th June 1808.  
  
Chalmers was a student of mathematics, and must have known Wilkie's father's work.
6. Mrs Chalmers, nee Price, was the daughter of a retired military man, and probably knew Wilkie at Cupar Academy. Her uncle lived at Kilmony, where she visited him.
7. See note 5, and Cun I p 175.



8. NLS Ms 9835 f 17:  
letter from George Thomson to Wilkie dated  
4th July 1807.

9. Volume I of the Plays on the Passions was  
published in 1798, and Volume II in 1802.

The meeting of Joanna Baillie and Wilkie is not  
recorded, but her brother Matthew was Wilkie's  
medical adviser by 1810, and they probably  
met soon after Wilkie came to London.

10. Baillie (1853): "Introductory discourse to a  
series of Plays in which it is attempted to  
delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind,  
each Passion being the subject of a tragedy  
and a comedy".

Believing as she did that

"every person .. is more or less occupied in  
tracing among the individuals he converses with,  
the varieties of understanding and temper which  
constitute the characters of men; and receives  
great pleasure from every stroke of nature that  
points out to him those varieties",

Joanna Baillie felt that

"those works which most strongly characterise  
human nature in the middling and lower classes  
of society where it is to be discovered by  
stronger and more unequivocal marks, will  
ever be the most popular". [p 2].

Her comedies The Trial, The Election and The  
Second Marriage therefore parallel Wilkie's  
early works in their concentration on  
characterisation. Her attempt in the tragedies -  
Basil, De Monfort and Ethwald - to examine those  
minute and delicate traits of an emerging and  
developing passion - Love, Hatred or Ambition -  
resembles Wilkie only in its subtle differentiation  
of mood. Joanna Baillie's practice of thinking  
in terms of contrasting pairs of works may also  
have influenced Wilkie's Rent Day and its very  
theatrical pendant Distraint for Rent.

Her conviction that

"it is not merely under the violent agitations  
of passion, that man so rouses and interests  
us; even the smallest indications of an unquiet  
mind, the restless eye, the muttering lip, the  
half-checked exclamation and the hasty start,  
will set our attention as anxiously on the watch,  
as the first distant flashes of a gathering  
storm" [p 3]

seems a relevant comment on Wilkie's picture  
Reading the Will as well as on her own play  
The Election.

11. Cun I p 309.

12. Baillie (1853) pp 705-770.

The Metrical Legends include A Metrical Legend of William Wallace [pp710-730], The Legend of Christopher Columbus [pp731-748], The Legend of Lady Griseld Baillie [pp 748-761] and shorter ballads. Joanna Baillie's aim was to remain true to historical fact, to retain the brief simplicity of a chronicle and to "produce sentimental and descriptive memorials of exalted worth" [p 706]. She acknowledges a debt to Scott. The progression of her work from penetrating analysis of character to the history of romantic heroes anticipates Wilkie's development in style and subject matter.

13. Wilkie made studies for a scene from The Legend of Lady Griseld Baillie in 1834. Joanna Baillie was descended from Griseld's husband's family. The daughter of Sir Patrick Hume, Griseld was sent to Edinburgh at the age of twelve to take a letter to Robert Baillie of Jerviswood, who had been imprisoned for speaking against popery. She later married Jerviswood's son. Her father was obliged to conceal himself to avoid arrest. "By the assistance of a carpenter, who was the only person besides Lady Hume and Griseld who knew the place of his confinement, they got a bed and bedclothes carried in the night to the burying place, a vault under ground at Polworth church, a mile from the house, where he was concealed for a month, and had only for light an open slit at one end, through which nobody could see what was doing below. She (Lady Griseld) went every night by herself to carry him victuals and drink, and stayed with him as long as she could to get home before day" [p 750 (note)]. The family later fled the country, and had further adventures.

Wilkie illustrated the scene at Polworth vault.

14. The Antiquary, Chap. 31: the funeral scene in Mucklebackit's cottage.

Errington (1976) postulates a direct dependence by Scott on Wilkie's Distraint for Rent for his description in Chap. 31 of The Antiquary.

15. Hazlitt (1951) p 187: Lectures on the English Comic Writers, Lecture 7.

16. NLS Ms 9835 ff15-16; quoted in Gordon (1972) pp 10-11: Galt, writing to Wilkie on 12th May 1807, adds his "individual congratulations to the applause with which your two pictures have been distinguished".

17. NLS Ms 9835 f 49: letter from Beaumont to Wilkie dated 11th March 1812; quoted in Cun I p 343.
18. George Thomson (1757-1851).  
Hadden (1898) pp 65-68 gives an account of two controversial incidents involving Wilkie and Thomson. For an account of the relationship between Thomson and Joanna Baillie see Hadden (1898) pp226-249.  
David Thomson (d.1815) was a contemporary of Wilkie. In 1813 he proposed a complete edition of the Scottish poets, using David Allan's illustrations.
19. EUL Ms La II 313: Wilkie, writing to Collins on 23rd July 1823, expresses his concern with the nature of the office of King's Limner for Scotland.  
HEH Ms UP 518-9: letter from Wilkie to William Upcott Esq. concerning Wilkie's own descent.
20. NLS Ms 9835 f 93: letter from Wilkie to W.M. Jerdan, Esq., dated 31st May 1816(?).
21. The Rat Catchers: completed 1811; panel, 1'3" x 1'0".  
This was the Diploma picture, submitted on Wilkie's election as R.A. [Cun I pp 329-330].
22. See, e.g., Thomson(1854) Vol II pp 168 ff.  
See also Chap. 5 note 24.
23. Thomson (1854) Vol II p 168.  
Herrmann (1972) p 177.
24. Cun I p 344.
25. Herrmann (1972) p 177.
26. The Letter of Introduction: completed 1814; panel, 2'1" x 1'9"; now in NGS.  
See Marks (1968a) pp125-133.
27. Errington (1975) pp 12-13.
- 27a. See, e.g., The Election Act III Scene I: discussion between Mrs Baltimore and Charles.
- 27b. Galt, in The Last of the Lairds [Galt (1976) p 3], obliquely criticises Wilkie's romanticising of Scottish rural life; however, the description of

the meeting between the narrator and the Laird in the following chapter [Ibid. p 6] is surely a deliberate parody of the scene portrayed in The Letter of Introduction:

"On entering the Laird's apartment, I was struck with several changes ... The most conspicuous object, however, was a handsome leather covered library chair, in which he was sitting at a table with books and papers and the other implements of writing before him, like an Edinburgh advocate warsling with the law.

He was apparelled in a dressing-gown, which had evidently been economically made out of two of his deceased lady's flagrant chintz gowns of dissimilar patterns. His head was adorned with a blue velvet cap, wadded and padded not only to supersede the use of his wig, but even to be warm enough to cause a germination of fancies, if ideas could be raised by anything like the compost in which gardeners force exotics.

As I entered he pushed up his spectacles upon his forehead, and raising his eyes from the paper on which he was writing, threw himself back in the chair, and looked not altogether quite satisfied at being so interrupted."

28. SRO GD/26/13/301: Leven and Melville Papers, letter dated 28th November 1816.

The Breakfast: completed 1817; panel, 2'7" x 2'4".

29. Gordon (1972) quotes Galt as justifying the fact that "in the Annals of the Parish there is nothing that properly deserves to be regarded as a story" by the claim that he was writing "theoretical histories of society".

30. Distraint for Rent: completed 1815; panel, 2'10 x 4'2".

For a discussion of this painting see NGS Bulletin (1976) No.2.

31. BM Acc 29991 f 8: letter to Perry Nursey, 9th May 1814: "Hogarth outshines every master that has gone before him".

See also Waagen (1838) p 239:

"In most essential particulars Wilkie has the same style of art as Hogarth ... variety, refinement, acuteness in observation of what is characteristic in nature."

- 31a. See Greaves (1966) p 82; Wilkie (1842b) lot 273.



32. NLS Ms 9835 f 43:  
letter from Wilkie to J. Taylor, Sun Office,  
112 Strand, dated 11th August 1811: regrets  
that Wilkie has no hope of undertaking another  
picture as his "Hands at present [are] so full.."

Wilkie's awareness of the expense involved in  
rendering minutiae extended to his attitude to  
prints. On July 26th 1818 [HEH HM 21052] Wilkie  
warned Raimbach against The Breakfast - although  
it contained "the kind of material that would be  
more new than any other in English Engraving" -  
because it would be a laborious and therefore an  
expensive print to produce.

See also Marks (1968) p 220 ff.

33. Cun I p 141 (1807)

Beaumont and Wilkie found John Burnet's engraving  
of The Blind Fiddler to be so unsatisfactory  
that extensive reworking of the plate was  
required before fresh impressions were taken:  
see Burnet (1850) pp 275-277, quoted in Ottley  
(1877) p 23.

34. Wilkie's letter to Raimbach on 26th October 1815  
shows his satisfaction [HEH HM 21054]  
"I am very much gratified indeed with the proof  
you have sent me of the Village Politicians  
and with all the anxiety that an artist can have  
to see his picture correctly copied I do not  
think it will be possible for me to find fault.  
The characters and expressions of the faces  
are given in the most true and spirited manner  
and the making out of the hands is done with as  
much feeling as anything I ever saw in engraving  
... the variety of surface I am also very much  
pleased with".

By August 28th 1816 [HEH HM 21044] Wilkie was  
acknowledging an improvement in Raimbach's  
handling of darks, lights and detail in his plate  
of The Rent Day, saying

"it will extend your reputation very greatly.."

Wilkie had experienced

"the delightful sensation which an artist must  
feel in having his picture thoroughly understood  
and felt in an engraving."

Mulready agreed that

"the infant's head is one of the finest specimens  
of engraving I ever saw";

Haydon approved, and Bird declared that Wilkie  
"was a very lucky fellow."

On March 28th 1817 [HEH HM 21048] Wilkie congratulated  
Raimbach on his "complete hit". Beaumont was  
highly pleased with the print, which had been shown  
by Lord Mulgrave to several Cabinet Ministers.



35. Haydon (1950) p 228; Cun I pp 415-416.

Wilkie's letters to Raimbach in the Henry E. Huntingdon Library elucidate the intensive personal involvement of Wilkie with all stages of the production and sale of his prints.

In a letter to Raimbach dated September 4th 1816, Wilkie outlines plans to bring impressions of The Village Politicians and "an etching" of The Rent Day, as well as drawing materials and sketch books, to Holland. On 8th October 1816 he describes his search for a good printseller in Amsterdam. His letter of 14th December 1817 shows Wilkie taking particular care with a large order from Mr Darling's friends, while a note on 23rd October 1823 speaks of his efforts to assemble a set of good impressions for the Duke of Bedford.

Wilkie was involved in the selection of works to engrave. For example, a letter to Raimbach dated 26th July 1818 [HEH MsHM 21052] recommends Blind Man's Buff, as a loan could be immediately arranged and "dreaded interlopers" forstalled.

In the case of The Breakfast he arranged that the firm of printmakers recording pictures in the Stafford Gallery should only be allowed to make a small plate. He was not always so fortunate; permission to engrave Distraining for Rent as a companion to The Rent Day was for a long time denied him. On 2nd July 1818, in a letter to Raimbach [HEH MsHM 21051], he attributes this to a political cause:

"The result of the elections in the country is in fact against it at present."

He felt that the willingness of firms to publish prints of his work indicated a surge of interest in art:

"this is to us the pulse of the public"

he said in a letter to Raimbach, dated 27th February 1834, about Messrs. Hodgson, Boys and Graves's print of The Parish Beadle [HEH Mss HM 21078-21079].

Wilkie did not hesitate to express discontent even at late stages of the production of a print: see, e.g. HEH HM 21075: letter to Raimbach dated 2nd November 1832:

"I wish very much to see you - the copy of the Munich picture disappoints me, being a drawing and not a print."

36. New College Edin. Ms Cha. 4.14.39 f 463: letter to Thomas Chalmers dated 29th January 1819, recording the gift to Chalmers of a print of The Cut Finger.

Wilkie's letter to Raimbach on 26th July 1818 [HEH MsHM 21052] records Wilkie's belief that

prints of The Rent Day "have been the cause of my getting my last commission from Munich". The Bavarian envoy, M. Phefill, had himself sent prints to Munich.

Wilkie's letter to Raimbach on 13th June 1836 [HEH MsHM 21089] reveals his anxiety to send the dying Sir William Knighton new impressions of the plate from his painting The Spanish Mother as a mark of attention and friendship.

37. NLS Ms 9835 f 102: letter to MacDonald dated 1816.

The Broken China Jar: completed 1816; panel, 0'7" x 0'6". Commissioned by Peter Coxe as one of a series of illustrations for his epic poem The Social Day, published in 1824. See Marks (1968) pp 236-237.

38. Cun I p 249: journal, 26th August 1809.

39. See Dodgson (1936) pp 11-13 and pp 23-28.

40. Ibid.

Wilkie's etchings, numbered according to Dodgson's catalogue, are:

1. Man resting his hands on a stick: 74 x 45 mm.
2. Interior with two boys and a dog: 74 x 45 mm. Signed D.W.
3. Woman at a window, reading a letter: 82 x 40 mm.
4. The Bagpiper: 62 x 102 mm.
5. Women at prayer: 76 x 74 mm. Signed D.W., dated 1814.
6. A beggar woman with two children: 67 x 43 mm. Signed D.W., dated 1814(?).
7. A lady seated at a window: 111 x 76 mm.
8. The sedan chair: 219 x 84 mm.
9. The lost receipt: 143 x 157 mm.
10. The cottage door: 121 x 81 mm. Signed(monogram) and dated D.W. 1820.
11. Reading the Will: 90 x 126 mm. Signed and dated D.W. 1819.
12. The Flemish mother: 222 x 181 mm. Signed (monogram) and dated D.W. 1820.
13. Benvenuto Cellini offering his censer for the approval of Pope Paul III: 227 x 179 mm. Signed (monogram) and dated D.W. 1824.

Dodgson also records one lithograph:

14. Kissing the child: 223 x 180 mm.
41. Cun I p 266: journal, 4th December 1809: "I laid in some grounds by candle light."

Cun I p 267: journal, 11th December 1809: "As usual, touched upon my picture by candle light".

Burnet (1854) Vol I p 160 portrays Wilkie advising a young artist on the advantage of sketching by candle light.

Wilkie must have known of Reynolds's remarks on Gainsborough's habit of painting at night [Reynolds (1959) pp 250-251; Discourse 14].

42. Cun I p 454: letter to Beaumont, dated 12th December 1816.
43. Now in the National Gallery, London.[No. 61].  
Beaumont gifted the painting to the Gallery on its foundation, but missed it so much that he begged it back and kept it until his death. [Greaves (1966) p 150].
44. Leslie (1951) p 20, says that Wilkie and Constable were much together from 1810 onwards. Constable posed for the head of the doctor in The Sick Lady; see Cun I p 173, journal for 18th May 1808.
45. Cun I p 247: journal, 18th August 1809.
46. NLS Ms 9835 ff 15-16.  
See also NLS Ms 4033 f 8: letter from Galt to Blackwood dated 5th September 1832:  
"It was sent to Wilkie before his painting on that subject was undertaking".  
See also note 16.
47. NLS Ms 9835 ff 17-18: 4th July 1807.
- 47a. Ibid.
48. Cun I p 117.
49. Bell (1883) p 9.
50. NLS Ms 9835 f 13: letter from Beaumont to Wilkie, dated 20th November 1806; quoted in Cun I p 123.
51. NLS Ms 9835 f 107: letter from Beaumont to Wilkie, dated 2nd January 1817.  
Cunningham's version of this letter [Cun I pp 454-456] does not include this insertion on the original manuscript.
52. Sinclair (1792) Vol II pp 407-415.
53. Scott (1901) Vol I: Waverley, p 448.
54. Letter from Galt to Blackwood dated 23rd June 1822, quoted in Gordon (1972) p 54.

55. NLS Ms 10995 f 7: letter from Wilkie to Haydon dated 4th December 1817:  
"My picture is in progress. My Scottish tour gives me great assistance in giving me a plentiful fund of new materials".
56. Gordon (1972) p 142.
57. Cun III p 143.
58. Cun III p 133.
59. Derogatory term applied to sentimentalised portrayals of Scottish rural life: see Wittig (1958) p 254.
60. Letter from Wilkie to Haydon, dated 18th August 1816, in which Wilkie describes the interview with Wellington during which he received the commission:  
"... he turned to me and said, 'Well, when shall I hear from you?' To which I replied that my immediate engagements and the time it would take to collect materials for his Grace's subject, would prevent me being able to get it done for two years. 'Very well,' said he, 'that will be soon enough for me.'" [p 289].
61. Cun II p 49: journal, 21st October 1824:  
"Engaged for the last fortnight in making a great alteration in the figures of my picture of The Chelsea Pensioners: it consists chiefly in transposing the figures on the left hand side of the picture, which were before much more towards the side, nearer to the centre so that the man reading the paper should be more in the eye of the picture."
62. Cun II p 77: journal, 20th July 1827.
63. Haydon (1950) p 209.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. One of the last figures put into the final canvas. Her reaction to widowhood contrasts with the complacency of the young widow in Reading the Will.
67. Wilkie moved to No. 4 Manor Terrace, Kings Road, Chelsea, in December 1810 (Cun I p 321). He lived there until the autumn of 1811.
68. Haydon (1950) p 220.
69. Cun II p 16: journal, 24th January 1819:  
"... the Duke ... seemed to look with attention at the reading ..."

## Chapter 7.

1. Collins (1848), Vol I p 186: letter from William Collins to Samuel Joseph, dated 28th January 1822.
2. Cun II p 68: journal, 31st March 1822.
3. Cun I p 212: journal, 6th December 1808:  
"Called on Liston and Bannister who proposed to me for a subject 'The Opening of a Will'; which I consider an excellent idea, and am much obliged to them for suggesting it".
4. Haydon (1950) pp 288-290: letter from Wilkie to Haydon, dated 18th August 1816, in which Wilkie describes the interview with Wellington during which he received the commission:  
"... he turned to me and said, 'Well, when shall I hear from you?' To which I replied that my immediate engagements, and the time it would take to collect materials for his Grace's subject, would prevent me being able to get it done for two years. 'Very well,' said he, 'that will be soon enough for me.'" [p 289].
5. Cun II p 49: journal, 21st October 1821:  
"Engaged for the last fortnight in making a great alteration in the figures of my picture of The Chelsea Pensioners; it consists chiefly in transposing the figures on the left hand side of the picture, which were before much more towards the side, nearer to the centre; so that the man reading the paper should be more in the eye of the picture."
6. Cun II p 72: journal, 20th July 1822.
7. Haydon (1950) p 289.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. One of the last figures put into the final canvas. Her reaction to widowhood contrasts with the complacency of the young widow in Reading the Will.
11. Wilkie moved to No. 4 Manor Terrace, Kings Road, Chelsea, in December 1810 [Cun I p 321]. He lived there until the autumn of 1811.
12. Haydon (1950) p 290.
13. Cun II p 16: journal, 24th January 1819:  
"... the Duke .. seemed to look with attention at The Wedding .."



14. NLS Ms 9835 ff 107-108: letter from Beaumont to Wilkie dated 2nd January 1817; quoted in Cun I pp454-456.
15. NLS Ms 10995 f 7: letter from Wilkie to Haydon dated 4th December 1817.
16. BM Mss Add 29991 No.5 : letter from Wilkie to Nursey dated 17th October 1818.
17. Ibid.
18. Cun II p 16: journal, 24th January 1819.
19. NLS Ms 9835 ff 128-129: letter from Beaumont to Wilkie dated '1819'.
20. Cun III p 185: Remarks on Painting.
21. Cun II pp 16 ff.
22. Cun II p 17: journal, 7th March 1819.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.: journal, 18th June 1819.
25. Cun II p 18: journal, 12th July 1819.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. BM Ms Add Eg 2075ff21-22: letter from Wilkie to A.Cooper; 22nd December 1819.
29. BM Ms Add 29991 No.8: letter to Nursey dated 28th December 1819.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.
32. Cun II p 29.
33. BM Ms Add 29991 No.9: letter to Nursey dated 24th July 1820.
34. Cun II p 48: letter to Beaumont dated 30th October 1820.
35. Cun II p 45.
36. Ibid.

37. Cun II p 46: letter to Beaumont dated 30th October 1820.
38. Cun II p 49 : see note 5.
39. BM Ms Add 29991 No.12: letter to Nursey dated 24th December 1821.
40. Cun II p 68.
41. Thomson(1854) Vol II p 161.
42. Cun II p 53.
43. Cun II p 54.
44. Thomson (1854) Vol II p 162.
45. Ibid.
46. See Catalogue (1817.67).
47. See p 94.
48. Plate 158c.
49. Cun II p 54, quoting Mrs Thomson:  
"There is, you know, a young child in the picture half springing out of its mother's arms: the attitude of the child, which is nature itself, was suggested by a momentary motion which he observed in one of my children; and he asked again and again to see the child, in order to confirm that impression, and fix the same effect".  
For a full discussion of the development of this group, see Clark, The Chelsea Pensioners, M.A.Thesis, Edinburgh University Fine Art Department (1964) (unpublished).
50. Wilkie finally composed the little picture The Cottage Toilette (completed 1824; panel, 1'0" x 1'3"), illustrating a scene from The Gentle Shepherd, round this figure. The picture is now in the Wallace Collection, London.
51. This major commission was one of the most rapidly completed works of the period.
52. Sinclair (1792)
53. See Bell (1883) p 207.
54. Uwins (1858) Vol II p 156.

55. Wilkie seems to have been experimenting with watercolour at this period, perhaps stimulated by his interest in Heaphy's detailed and very successful works [see chap. 5, p 69]. He recommended the medium to Nursey [BM Ms Add 29991 No.5: letter dated 17th October 1818.
56. Cun II p 16: journal, 25th January 1819.
57. William Nicholson (1781-1844).  
Portrait of Mrs Henderson: 382 x 286 mm;  
NGS Dept. of Prints and Drawings D 3852.
58. Cun II p 21: letter to William Watson dated 12th June 1819;  
Cun II p 45: letter to Watson dated 4th February 1820.
59. See, e.g. Cun II p 16: journal, 7th March 1819;  
Cun II p 18: journal, 12th July 1819.
60. BM Ms Add 29991 No. 9.
61. Ibid.
62. See Chap.1, note 1.
63. Gericault (1947) p 103.
64. Haydon (1963) p 78: journal, June - August 1809:  
"I have always said to Wilkie there was no effort of mind in telling what happened, or what a man observed; the effort lay in drawing a result or forming a conclusion in laying down principles from what you saw."
65. Manuscript commentary in the borders of pages 1 and 2 of Haydon's copy of the catalogue of Wilkie's 1812 exhibition - now with the Nursey letters in the British Museum: BM Ms Add 29991 ff 6-7. The remarks are dated 'August 1817, Yarmouth'.

## Chapter 8.

1. Cun III p 136: Remarks on Painting.
2. Cun II pp 102 ff.
3. BM Ms Add 29991 No.15: letter to Nursey, dated 26th November 1822.
4. Cun II p 97: letter to Beaumont dated 12th January 1823.
5. Cun I p 3.
6. An interest in precise measurements and appearances is still characteristic of Scottish religious education.
7. Cun III p 113: letter to Sir William Knighton dated 4th November 1835:  
"The question of Catholic and Protestant I have considered a theme for art."
8. Thomas Chalmers (1789-1843).
9. Edward Irving (1792-1834).
10. See Chap.6, pp 72-73;  
Cun I pp 464-465;  
Cun II pp 93-95.
11. See entry on Thomas Chalmers in Dictionary of National Biography (1877) pp 449-454.
12. Cun II p 94.
13. Cun II p 116
14. Cun III p 427: letter to Collins, dated 'Jerusalem 2nd April 1841':  
"... with respect to the the great crowd of scriptural representations by which, with a sort of glut, all future art must be inundated, I need only say a Martin Luther, in painting, is as much called for as in theology, to sweep away the abuses by which our divine pursuit is encumbered."
15. Cun II p 111:  
"[Knox] .. was from the first a favourite subject, and seldom, as he told me, out of his mind."
16. McCrie (1812): John Knox.

17. Cun II p 107: letter to William S. Watson,  
dated 14th November 1823.
18. Cun III p 57:  
"The artist has softened a little the sternness  
of the scene by placing the lovely and  
accomplished Countess of Argyll, natural sister  
to Queen Mary, between the fierce groups ..."
19. Cun II p 74: journal, 6th August 1822;  
Cun II p 90.
20. BM Ms Add 29991 No. 15: letter to Nursey, dated  
26th November 1822.
21. Ibid.
22. A pendant to The Chelsea Pensioners based on  
the exploits of Nelson was eventually completed,  
not by Wilkie, but by John Burnet, who had  
engraved The Chelsea Pensioners: see Campbell (1971)  
pp 416-418.
23. Now in Aberdeen Art Gallery.
24. Cun III pp 524-532: Appendix D: Pictures painted  
by Sir David Wilkie.
25. BM Ms Add 29991 No. 15: letter to Nursey, dated  
26th November 1822.
26. Cun II p 113-115: letter from Wilkie to Allan,  
dated 4th April 1824
27. Cun II pp 79-81.
28. Cun II p 104.
29. Cun II p 96: journal, 15th December 1822.  
It is only fair to note that Peel had admired,  
and eventually obtained, the picture of Knox.
30. Baillie (1853) pp 1-385.  
See Chap.6, pp 73-74.
31. Hazlitt (1951) p 186.
32. BM Ms Acc 40355 f 56: letter to Peel, dated  
8th March 1823.
33. See Gordon (1972) p 50.



34. BM Ms Add 29991 No. 16: letter to Nursey, dated 26th January 1823.
35. Delacroix (1935) Vol I p 160; Vol IV p 60.
36. Cun II p 122: letter to Helen Wilkie dated 26th September 1824.
37. Cun II pp 138 ff; p 121.
38. Cun II p 304: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 'Venice, 8th May 1826'.

2. Thomas Phillips R.A. (1770-1845) and William Hilton R.A. (1782-1879) communicated with Cunningham; the letters between Wilkie and Andrew Wilson (1780-1840) provide information about Wilkie as a picture dealer; and the Memorie of the Life of T. Gains (R.A., 1725-1807) by his widow (Gains (1838)) recover information not found elsewhere.
3. Gains (1838) Vol II p 103.
4. 1814, Vol II p 298: letter from Scotts to Gains, dated 'Rome, Christmas' (1829).
5. 1814, Vol II p 300: "...he [Wilkie] wanted 'to make a compact with four or five painters to do pictures in this way'".  
Turner referred to the group in Rome, made up of Wilkie, Hilton, Phillips and Gains Turner, as the "Quattrocento club...familiar with such Michelangelo, Raphael, Donatello, Gherardo, Gherardo..." (Turner (1901) p 299: letter to Edworthy, dated January 1826).  
Haydon (1856) p 193 says of Hilton, his fellow student at the R.A.:  
"...there was an intellectual and physical freshness in everything that he did... Wilkie did him great good. After Wilkie became a member of the Academy he no longer drew upon Hilton except for that I attribute his improvement entirely to Wilkie's influence".
6. BM Ms Add 40-42 f 202.
7. Cun II p 512: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 31st March 1828.
8. Cun II pp 196-198: letter to Collins, dated 2nd Dec. 1825: Wilkie had seen paintings in the Campo Santo, Pisa, traditionally ascribed to Giotto (Vasari, Life of the Painters, London (1971) p 43), and paintings in Florence, presumably including the Deposition from the Cross and the Coronation of the Virgin.
9. Cun II pp 350-353: letter to Phillips, dated 6th Nov. 1826.

## Chapter 9.

1. Cun II p 521: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 'Madrid, 7th May 1828':  
"I observe your remarks about my change of style of working; but almost all painters have changed so, two, three and four times in their day, and I should have seen the Continental schools in vain if some change had not been effected. How it may be regarded by the public is, as you remark, another thing; but the people like change, and I shall try".
2. Thomas Phillips R.A.(1770-1845) and William Hilton R.A.(1786-1839) communicated with Cunningham; the letters between Wilkie and Andrew Wilson (1780-1848) provide information about Wilkie as a picture dealer; and the Memoir of the Life of T. Uwins [R.A.(1782-1857)] by his widow [Uwins (1858)] records information not found elsewhere.
3. Uwins (1858) Vol II p 105.
4. Ibid. Vol II p 299: letter from Eastlake to Uwins, dated 'Rome, Thursday'[1829].
5. Ibid. Vol II p 300: "...he[Wilkie] wanted 'to make a compact with four or five painters to do pictures in this way'".  
Turner referred to the group in Rome, made up of Wilkie, Hilton, Phillips and Dawson Turner, as the "Quartetto amico...feeding away upon Michelangelo, Raphael, Domenichino, Guercino, Correggio.." [Finberg (1961) p 293: letter to Holworthy, dated January 1826].  
Haydon (1950) p 193 says of Hilton, his fellow student at the R.A.:  
"...there was an intellectual and physical feebleness in everything that he did. Wilkie did him great good. After Wilkie became a Member of the Academy he so bore down upon Hilton about tone that I attribute his improvement entirely to Wilkie's influence".
6. BM Ms Add 40385 f 209.
7. Cun II p 512: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 31st March 1828.
8. Cun II pp 196-198: letter to Collins, dated 3rd Dec. 1825: Wilkie had seen paintings in the Campo Santo, Pisa, traditionally ascribed to Giotto [Vasari, Lives of the Painters, London (1971) p 63], and paintings in Florence, presumably including the Ognisanti Madonna and the Coronation of the Virgin.
9. Cun II pp 368-373: letter to Phillips, dated 6th Nov. 1826.

10. Cun II p 236: letter to Peel, dated 13th February 1826.
11. NLS Ms 5683 f 13: letter from Sir Robert Liston to Lieutenant-General Sir William Keppel dated 15th March 1827, describing Wilkie's inability to draw.  
 Cun II p 196: letter to Collins dated 3rd December 1825:  
 "I am ... unable for serious occupation".  
 Cun II p 219: letter to Sir James MacGrigor dated 'Rome, 1826':  
 "... I am with every faculty alive, stout and active in frame, yet as unable as ever to make even the slightest study or sketch of what is to be seen around me."
12. Cun II pp 191-192: journal, 22nd November 1825;  
 Cun II pp 198-199: letter to Collins dated 3rd December 1825;  
 Cun II p 227: letter to an unnamed correspondent dated 23rd January 1826.
13. Cun II p 233: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 4th February 1826.  
 Uwins (1858) Vol II p 177: letter from Sir Thomas Lawrence to Uwins, dated 20th April 1825: Lawrence suggests that he would like "any studies" by Uwins from "the Sybil half rising and shutting her book" [the Libyan Sybil] and of other figures from the Sistine ceiling, as the prints he had were general representations without "elegance or grandeur". He insisted that "the outline must be nicely true, the character and proportions accurate".  
 Uwins declined to do this [Ibid. p 180], but had made "frequent visits to the chapel" and knew the works well. Wilkie was possibly encouraged by knowledge of his friend Lawrence's suggestion to make these drawings.  
 Haydon (1950) p 442:  
 "His two studies of the Sybils from Michel Angelo were beautiful, but of course his want of knowledge made the drawing deficient."
14. Cun II pp 236-237: letter to Peel, dated 13th February 1826
15. Cun II pp 247-248: journal, 17th February 1826.
16. Exhibited by Fine Art Society, Edinburgh 21st-29th September 1972, and subsequently in London.
17. Wilkie was in Genoa when he mentioned [Cun II p 165: journal, 10th October 1825] the altarpiece of

The Miracle of St. Ignatius:

- "... left hand altar, extremely brilliant: a priest with figures kneeling; a woman standing with a child, finely painted: the picture altogether the most forcible I have seen in this country." He was there again in May/June 1827 on his way to Spain [Cun II p 418]. As Wilkie complains, shortly after seeing the Rubens, "I can do nothing here in the way of making studies" [Cun II p 174: letter to Helen Wilkie dated 20th-22nd October 1825], it is possible that the drawing (1825.22) was not made until his second visit in 1827.
18. NLS Ms 6294 f 69: letter to William Allan, R.A., dated 4th August 1827; quoted in Cun II pp 437-438.
19. Ibid.
20. The fact that Wilkie rarely referred to Titian in his correspondence of this period was remarked on by Collins, writing to Wilkie on 22nd December 1825 [Collins (1848) Vol I pp 262-265]: "I have been so long in the habit of considering Titian a mighty man that I cannot help feeling disappointed that you say so little about him, and I much fear that the excellencies of the Venetian school are sinking rapidly in your estimation."
21. Cun II p 178: journal, 5th November 1825: "... the Venus by Titian was admired by them [Phillips and Hilton], as by other artists, as one of his most perfect works; but this is by no means a striking picture to the common people."
22. Ibid.  
Writing to Collins on 3rd December 1825 [Cun II p 198] Wilkie compared Raphael with Titian and Rubens: "The Raphaels ... have more excellencies addressed to the unlearned observer than any works I know of; and, when in the freshness of their first existence, they must have been most attractive to the common people, which I doubt is more than could have been said for Titian or Rubens."
23. Collins (1848) Vol I p 287; quoted in Cun II pp 443-444: Wilkie felt Titian was misunderstood and misrepresented as a colourist - his pictures depending more on "deep and brilliant" tone than on bright tints.
24. Cun II p 444: letter to Collins, dated 26th August 1827.  
See also Cun II p 450: journal, 29th May 1827, where Wilkie found Correggio using the same direct and simple method of working.

25. Cun II p 411: letter to Thomas Bigge, dated Rome, 10th April 1827.
26. Reynolds (1959) p 72: Discourse IV.
27. Cun II p 344-345: journal, 20th July 1826:  
 "Here [the Notte of Correggio] the simplicity of the drawing of the Virgin and Child is shown in contrast with the foreshortening in the group of angels; the strongest unity of effect with the the most perfect system of intricacy."
28. Cun II p 512: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 31st March 1828.
29. See Catalogue (1814.2) - (1814.13); (1816.7) - (1816.45).
30. The Confessional is now in the National Gallery of Scotland.  
 Uwins (1858) Vol II p 25, quoting Eastlake:  
 "...he [Wilkie] has done a confessional scene with stuff in it equal to Rembrandt."
31. Ibid. Vol II p 26:  
 "It is a curious coincidence that, without any knowledge of what Wilkie was doing, I have begun the very same subjects, the 'Pipers' and the 'Confession', and they are the two that I expect to bring with me to London".  
 David Allan drew the Pifferari and Cardinal York at his Prayers when in Rome.
32. See, e.g., Cun II p 430-431: letter to Andrew Wilson dated 26th June 1827.
33. Cun II p 524: letter to William Collins, dated 9th May 1828.
34. Washington Irving (1783-1859).
35. Cun II p 524: letter to Collins, dated 9th May 1828.
36. This perhaps reflects in part Wilkie's study of the colourists Titian and Correggio. Reynolds pointed out in Discourse II passim [see, e.g., Reynolds (1959) pp 34-35] that colourists needed to paint rather than to draw.
37. Cun II pp 510-511: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 31st March 1828:  
 "A friend procured me the acquaintance and the sittings of this distinguished personage, who looks like a hero, but who, for effect, I represent as a patriotic volunteer rather than as a general".



38. Catalogue (1828.3) may also have been originally connected with this composition.
39. Cun II p 521: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 7th May 1828.
40. Cun II p 512: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 31st March 1828.
41. Irving (1862) Vol II p 272: letter to Prince Dolgorouki, dated Seville, 21st July 1828.

2. Cun III p 11: letter to Sir William Knighton, dated 12th February 1829.

3. The Pifferari playing Bagat to the Madonna:  
painted largely in Rome (1825), ht. for 150 gns.

A Roman Princess watching the Pifferari Play:  
painted largely in Geneva (1827), ht. for 250 gns.

The Guerrilla taking leave of his Sponsor:  
begun in Madrid (1826), completed in London, ht. for 400 gns.

The Fall of Saragossa:  
begun in Madrid (1828), completed in London, ht. for 300 gns.

The Spanish Prisoner, or Guerrilla Herald of War:  
begun in Madrid (1828), completed in London, ht. for 300 gns.

Cun III p 9: letter to Sir William Knighton, dated 29th December 1828:

"My three Spanish pictures will be completed about the end of January, and, if successful, will then be ready to be submitted to his Majesty's inspection".

Cun III p 10: letter to Knighton, dated 12th February 1829:

"My Spanish pictures have just been submitted, and the approval has been so satisfactory. The Poem is preferred, as best of all, and the fourth picture intended to be gone on with."

The Guerrilla's Return to his Family:

"Being the concluding subject of a series of four pictures representing scenes characteristic of the events of the late war in Spain". Painted in 1830, ht. for 400 gns.

It remains questionable whether George really liked these pictures, or whether he was finding a heartful substitute for the position of an unwilling retainer which had been urged by Sir Robert Lister on Wilkie's behalf. In a letter to Sir William Fyfe, dated 15th March 1829 (MS. A. 9.2.56.3 f 13), Lister quotes Wilkie as saying that "no assistance could be given his country at large, or from his own resources, and he will be accepted."

## Chapter 10.

1. Cun III p 13: letter to Andrew Wilson, dated 16th March 1829:  
"I wish to prove that I have not seen Italy and Spain for nothing; and it now only remains to prove whether this improvement will be acknowledged in a place where the public eye has been tampered with like our Exhibition."
2. Cun III p 11: letter to Sir William Knighton, dated 12th February 1829.
3. The Pifferari playing Hymns to the Madonna:  
painted largely in Rome (1825), bt. for 150 gns.  
A Roman Princess washing the Pilgrims' Feet:  
painted largely in Geneva (1827), bt. for 250 gns.  
The Guerilla taking Leave of his Confessor:  
begun in Madrid (1828), completed in London, bt. for 400 gns.  
The Maid of Saragossa:  
begun in Madrid (1828), completed in London, bt. for 800 gns.  
The Spanish Posada, or Guerilla Council of War:  
begun in Madrid (1828), completed in London, bt. for 800 gns.  
Cun III p 9: letter to Sir William Knighton, dated 29th December 1828:  
"My three Spanish subjects will be completed about the end of January, and, if agreeable, will then be ready to be submitted to his Majesty's inspection".  
Cun III p 10: letter to Knighton, dated 12th February 1829:  
"My Spanish pictures have just been submitted, and the approval has been to my satisfaction. The Posada is preferred, as best of all, and the fourth picture commanded to be gone on with."  
The Guerilla's Return to his Family:  
'being the concluding subject of a series of four pictures representing scenes characteristic of the events of the late war in Spain'; painted in 1830, bt. for 400 gns.  
It remains questionable whether George really liked these pictures, or whether he was finding a tactful substitute for the pension to an ailing retainer which had been urged by Sir Robert Liston on Wilkie's behalf. In a letter to Sir William Keppell, dated 15th March 1827 [NLS Ms 5683 f 13], Liston quotes Wilkie as saying that "no assistance except from his country at large, or from his sovereign can or will he accept."

Haydon (1950) p 443: journal, July 24th 1828: after describing Wilkie's continuing debility, Haydon remarks that "the King with his usual benevolence has bought two of his pictures".

4. Cun III p 33: letter from Thomas Wilkie to Andrew Wilson, dated 7th February 1830. Lawrence died on 7th January 1830.

The manner of Shee's election as President of the Royal Academy must have rankled. See Haydon (1950) pp 459-462. It was usual for the monarch to indicate a preference; Haydon suggests that racial prejudice prevented Wilkie's election.

5. The Earl of Kellie: canvas, 95"x 68"; signed David Wilkie, London 1828. Now in Cupar County Hall.
6. Foreign and dramatic elements were already incipient in The Parish Beadle and The Smuggler's Return.
7. This phase is not considered in detail, as this thesis is concerned with major periods of change.
8. Grace before Meat: completed 1839; panel, 38" x 49"; bt. by Glendy Burke, Esq., New Orleans, for 400 gns.  
The Bride at he Toilette: completed 1838; panel, 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 49"; bt. M. Arthabur, Vienna, £400.  
La Vie Domestique: completed 1836; panel; bt. Juan Peyronnet, Toulouse, £40.  
The Irish Whiskey Still: completed 1839; panel (small duplicate); bt. M. Brederlo, Riga, £100.

In 1830 Haydon called Wilkie "the only painter who has a great European reputation" [Haydon (1950) p 462]. This reputation must have been at least partly due to the circulation on the Continent of prints by Burnet and Raimbach after Wilkie.

9. Note the Catalogue entries for the Columbus subject. Even for this composition, which follows closely the simple design of the first drawing (1827.23), Wilkie made detailed studies of the separate parts: see (1833.45-48), (1834.14-22), (1834.50b), (1835.1-4).

Haydon (1950) p 495: journal, 29th April 1832:

"Called on my dear old friend Wilkie, and spent two hours with him. He had had a monk's dress made, and made me put it on. I took off my cravat, and Wilkie exclaimed at my grand bald head and bare neck."

10. Cun III p 215. Simplicity, he adds, "is by itself ...a tiresome and dubious virtue".

11. Reynolds (1959) p 34 advised drawing in colours as this was nearest to painting in effect.  
[Discourse II].
12. Wilkie now painted with a "Correggio" - a woman and child leaning on a celestial globe - by his easel, instead of a Teniers or an Ostade [Cun III p 41].  
"...I look at it day after day, and think it must be above common, to bear the scrutiny even of my eye, who look at pictures as much to learn from as to judge of them. It is my school, and I study it as a guide in my own manner of painting". This painting is not now thought to be by Correggio
13. Cun II p 386: speech at public dinner in Rome, 16th January 1827.
14. Scott (1901 ) Vol XI: The Abbot, pp 379-391.
15. The Regalia, symbols of Scotland's independence as a kingdom, were returned to the Castle but "mislaid" in a chest until rediscovered by Sir Walter Scott's search party.  
New College, Edinburgh Ms Cha 4.9.49 f 462: letter from Wilkie to Chalmers, dated 21st December 1818, mentions Andrew Geddes's painting of Finding the Regalia.  
See also Illustrated Edinburgh News (1898) March 5th, p 1: The Regalia of Scotland: How they were Found.
16. Baillie (1853) pp 748-761: The Legend of Lady Griseld Baillie.  
See also Chap. 6, p 74.
17. Cun II p 326 ff: journal, June 19th-20th 1826: Wilkie had known "the brilliant conception of the emanation of light from the Christ" through prints, but found the original over-cleaned.
18. See Irving (1862) Vol II p 299.  
The Maid of Elvar: a poem, by Allan Cunningham, London 1832.  
See also EUL Ms La IV 17: letter from Peter Cunningham to Laing, 25th December 1874.
19. Miles (1971) pp 1-6 & 29.
20. Cun II pp 386 ff: January 16th 1827.  
Wilkie specifically mentions Allan Ramsay, Robert Burns, Henry Mackenzie, and Walter Scott.
21. 19a. Errington, in a lecture to The Association of Art Historians in Glasgow, 1975, compared the composition of Wilkie's Knox with that of Rubens's Coronation of Marie de Medici.

20. Cun II p 106: letter to Beaumont, dated 31st October 1823.
21. See Boase (1959) p 158.
22. Cun I p 180: journal, 26th June 1808:  
"Called on Meyer, and was told by a servant from the window that he was not at home."  
The painting of 1834 is now in the Johannesburg Art Gallery; panel, 30" x 24"; originally purchased for 225 gns. by Sir M.W. Ridley, Bart.
23. The picture withdrawn by Wilkie from the R.A. Exhibition in 1810: Cun I pp 287-297; Haydon (1950) p 128.
24. Wilkie uses dogs to echo the human situation from the yapping guard dogs in the early Gentle Shepherd sketch of 1802 to the dignified hounds in Sir David Baird. Other artists who made expressive use of dogs included Rubens.
25. Wilkie was knighted by William IV in 1836.  
See Thomson (1854) Vol II pp 171-173 on Wilkie's gradual estrangement from his middle-class friends. Also NLS MS 9835 f39. Wilkie to Thomas McDonald.
26. See Chap.4 p 47.
- 26a. Reynolds (1959) pp 59-60: Discourse IV.
27. Cun III p 92: letter to Lady Baird, dated 29th December 1834:  
"Of the figure of Sir David Baird I have also been making a separate sketch, chiefly from the drawing made in Dublin, which your Ladyship recommended. This I may adhere to with advantage, giving, as it does, the idea of a noble figure."
28. This splendid canvas, 11'6" x 8'11", was apparently commissioned by Lady Baird during Wilkie's visit to Fern Tower, Perth-shire, in August 1834; it is now on loan to Edinburgh Castle, but is not on display.
29. Cun III p 92: letter to Lady Baird, dated 29th December 1834. [see note 27]
30. Cun III p 99: letter to Lady Baird, dated 7th August 1835.  
Wilkie confessed "a sort of exaltation in the effect produced by the size of the picture." [Ibid. p 98].
31. Mr Keith Andrews has pointed out (private communication) that a source for this composition is the Raising of Lazarus subject. Wilkie must have known many versions, certainly including



the two etchings by Rembrandt of 1632 (B.73) and 1642 (B.72). [See Cun I p 424: journal June 24, 1814.]

32. Cun III pp 120-121: letter to Lady Baird, dated 29th July 1836.

33. NLS Ms 9836 ff 65-68: letter from Peel to Wilkie, dated April 14th 1834.

34. NLS Ms 9836 f 116: Letter from Gordon to Wilkie, dated December 19th 1835.

Wilkie had in this picture - as in the drawing of Dugald Stewart (1824.1) - to rejuvenate his sitter. Gordon reminded Wilkie:

"Remember you are painting this Great Man as he was 20 years ago - his figure has not materially changed - his well marked features remain the same but his hair is different, and his face was rather, though not much fuller - and without lines on his strongly marked intellectual countenance.

I consider that your own Fame is more mixed up with this picture than with any other, as you are handing down to posterity, the greatest man of the age, pondering over the most memorable transaction not only in his life, but in the history of the World."

35. Cun III p 9: letter to Sir William Knighton, dated 29th December 1828.

36. See p 140 and note 32.

37. Portrait of the Duke of Wellington, in the uniform of Constable of the Tower, with his Charger: canvas, bt. Merchant Tailors' Company (1834) 400 gns.

Wilkie probably referred to both Reynolds's Marquis of Granby and Lawrence's state portrait of Wellington for the Waterloo Room, Windsor, during the painting of this portrait: see Cun II pp 6-7.

38. Haydon (1963) Vol IV p 631, criticises Wilkie's portrait of Victoria but praises Lord Kelly (sic), The Duke of Sussex, and George IV.

39. William IV in the uniform of the Grenadier Guards: canvas, 104" x 68", signed and dated 'David Wilkie f Brighton 1833; now in Apsley House.

See Wilkie (1958) No. 86.

39a. 1860 sale lot 381: The Queen on Horseback, passing through a triumphal arch; groups of figures in the foreground, 1840; bt. Taylor £54/12/-.

40. Known only through photograph; it is reminiscent of Lawrence's Julia, Lady Peel.
41. Queen Victoria presiding at the Council upon her Majesty's Accession, 20th June 1837:  
canvas, 4'8½" x 7'8½", 600gns.  
 For a description of the picture see Cun III p 242.
42. Cun III pp 99-108.  
 See Catalogue (1835.30-82).
43. NLI Mss 5238.1374: letter from Maria Edgeworth to Cunningham, dated 25th July 1842:  
 "The sketch for 'the Peep-of-day-boy' I perfectly recollect It struck us that the dress and expression were not characteristically Hibernian - too neat too nice too trim and orderly for Irish and Ireland - The wife's handkerchief too well put on and headgear ... ditto - and in short cap a pied too tidy for even a pattern Irish wife - much more English or Scotch than Irish - The peep of day-boy himself stretched on the floor asleep having thrown off his big coat and his upper coat and having his arms beside him - an excellent sleeping boy - but suspenders or Braces or whatever you would call them out of character for his situation and circumstances - They wd have been loosed for sleep even if he had ever worn 'the like' but 100 a 1000 to one he never wore the like - unless from the North and then not broad characteristic Irish -  
 I honestly told Wilkie our objections in the particular instances - but it would have been cruel because it would have been useless pain to have told him that I did not think any of the figures characteristically Irish - excepting always the servant girl who is watching at the open door with her finger up & gives warning to the wife of approaching danger - That is exquisitely natural & Irish nature and expression."
44. Cun III pp 255-256.  
 See Catalogue (1838.24-27).
45. See Catalogue (1814.4c), (1827.29), 1835.41-42).
46. Uwins (1858) Vol II p 299: letter from Eastlake to Uwins c.1829.
47. On reaching Constantinople, Wilkie noted that  
 "... the painter, Mr Woodburn and myself are the most frequent in referring to as the one who has most truly given such an eastern people, is Rembrandt." [Cun III p 325: letter to Collins, dated 15th October 1840].

## Chapter 11.

### 1. Studies in Europe: pp 149-160.

1. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 73: letter from W.T Young, British Vice-Consul in Jerusalem, dated 12th June 1847; quoted on p 151.

Haydon (1963) Vol V p 393, had commented as early as 22nd December 1836:

"He [Wilkie] seemed croaking as to the little prospect of public incouragement (sic). But as I know the King approved of designs in the House of Lords I shrewdly suspect Master David has an eye that way."

Wilkie in a letter to Peel from Jerusalem, dated 18th March 1841 [BM Ms Add 40608 f 11] appears to deny prior knowledge of the plan to decorate the Houses of Parliament, and disclaims any intention of undergoing any "process of study", suggesting instead that he was merely a prospector in the Holy Land on behalf of younger men "with far higher attainments and power" who might represent "Sacred History". The letter is largely quoted in Cun III pp 414-419.

- 1a. Cun III pp 361-362: journal, 12th January 1841.

2. Wilkie (1842) pp 20-31.

3. Wilkie (1860): 1860 sale lot 102a, part of lot 103, lot 376, lot 377, lots 385-388.

4. Cun III p 284.

See also Haydon (1963) Vol IV p 361: journal, 24th May 1840; Ibid. Vol V p 30: journal, 28th January 1841; Ibid. Vol V p 127: journal 31st January 1841, for references to the Queen's disfavour.

5. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) pp 70-71.

- 5a. Redgrave (1890) p 421 discusses the project for the decoration of the Houses of Parliament. A Royal Commission was appointed in November 1841, but informed rumours had been circulating by January 1841 [Haydon (1963) Vol V p 27] and general discussion of the project was widespread the following summer. [Ibid. Vol V pp 72-73].

6. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 73.

7. Finden (1836): the twelve sketches worked up by Roberts were: Vol I plates 28, 33, 36, 75, 77, 90, 93; Vol II frontispiece and plates 13, 33, 54, 56.

8. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 63: Catherwood told the author (anonymous) of the Wilkie Gallery that Wilkie had studied the Panorama before leaving England.
- 8a. Hart (1882) p 70:  
"Two nights before he left England on his fatal journey, he [Wilkie] came to my rooms in Gower Street, to meet some Oriental scholars and travellers, to learn from them concerning the objects most worthy of his attention when journeying in the Holy Land. David Roberts, who was unable to be present, had sent a portfolio of his drawings. Wilkie listened to the exposition of Dr. Loewe, who had been there with Sir Moses Montefiore, as each drawing was inspected, with the greatest enthusiasm. The religious fervour of the Scotchman stimulated the pictorial instincts of the artist. He stated at a friend's house, the following evening, that he had obtained more instruction at my rooms concerning the object he had in view, than at any previous discussion on the subject."
9. Wilkie (1842c) lot 140.
10. Cun III p 289: journal, 21st August 1840, refers to "numerous materials for drawing and painting"; the "Windsor and Newton improved travelling paintbox" was lot 264 in the second Wilkie sale of 1842.
11. William Woodburn:  
See Haydon (1963) Vol V pp 175-176; Herrmann (1972) p 30.  
The Woodburn Brothers were the principal dealers in drawings early in the nineteenth century, and are particularly associated, first with the formation, and subsequently with the dispersal of the monumental collection of drawings of Sir Thomas Lawrence. Samuel Woodburn was the older and more important partner.
12. Cun III p 286.
13. See Herrman (1972) pp 189-192 for discussion of the dispersal of Lawrence's collection.
14. Wilkie (1842a) lot 662: oil sketches on panel made during Sir David Wilkie's last journey: A design for Christ before Pilate, bt Hogarth £42.



15. Young affirmed that Wilkie read his Bible every evening [Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 74]. Wilkie and Woodburn also read recommended books while in Constantinople before travelling on to Jerusalem.  
See also note 8a.
16. For example Cun III p 325: letter to Collins, dated 15th October 1840.  
See also Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 72, re Useph Zamiro, described by Young as "a remarkably fine specimen of a Rembrandt study".
17. Cun III p 292: journal, 22nd August 1840:  
"...in the drawing of the figures the anatomy is far from good".
18. Cun III p 309: journal, 14th September 1840.
19. BM Ms Add 40608 f 14: letter to Peel, dated 18th March 1841; quoted in Cun III p 416.
20. Cun III p 298: journal, 1st September 1840.
21. Cun III p 299: journal, 2nd September 1840.
22. Cun III pp 299-300: letter to Knighton, dated 1st September 1840.
23. Cun III p 298: journal, 1st September 1840;  
Cun III p 301: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 3rd September 1840.
24. Cun III p 307: journal, 12th September 1840.
25. Cun III p 341.
26. Cun III p 317: journal, 30th September 1840.
27. See Wilkie (1958) p 26, No.89 for a discussion.
28. The engineer was Mr Tierney Clerk, a former neighbour of Wilkie in London. The bridge has now been restored as one of the historic sights of Budapest [Prof. P.S. Farago, private communication]. See Cun III pp 332-333.
29. Cun III p 312: journal, 23rd September 1840.
30. Cun III p 312: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 24th September 1840.
31. Ibid.
32. Cun III p 315: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 27th September 1840.



2. The problem of first impressions: pp 161-165.

1. Cun III p 320: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 2nd October 1840.
2. Cun III p 334: letter to Sir Peter Lawrie, dated 6th November 1840.
3. Cun III p 442: letter to Thomas Phillips, dated 4th April 1841.
4. Cun III p 326: letter to William Collins, dated 15th October 1840.
5. Cun III p 376: journal, 30th January 1841.
6. Cun III pp 356-357: letter to Samuel Rodgers, dated 30th December 1840.
7. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 70: letter from W. Young to author, dated 12th June 1847.
- 7a. Cun III p 357: letter to Samuel Rodgers, dated 30th December 1840:  
"No stranger can, without a firman of the Sultan, enter his Mohametan temple..."  
See also NLS Ms 10995 f34-35. letter from Wilkie to Mrs. Carrick Moore, dated 30th January 1841:  
"...as gentlemen are never admitted to the domestic dwelling, we can only imagine what their condition may be ... no stranger can enter his dwelling nor can the penetrating eye pass either from within or without the close grained lattice work, that covers his windows."
8. Cun III p 336: journal, 10th November 1840.
- 8a. Cun III p 334: letter to Sir Peter Laurie, dated 6th November 1840.  
See also NLS Ms 10995 f34-35 letter to Mrs Carrick Moore, dated 30th January 1841:  
"[Turkish ladies are] in acquirements most uninstructed, and they say most uneducated ...  
[The Turk] never eats with his family, and never can appear with them out of doors ... he cannot even notice or be recognised by his wife or his daughter when they pass on the streets".
9. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 72: letter from Young to the author, dated 12th June 1847.
10. Collins (1848) Vol II pp 175-177: letter from William Collins to Wilkie, dated 23rd February 1840.
11. Cun III p 357: letter to Samuel Rodgers, dated 30th December 1840.

- 11a. Cun III p 334: letter to Sir Peter Laurie, dated 6th November 1840.
12. Cun III p 326: letter to Collins, dated 15th October 1840.
- 12a. Cun III pp 395-396: letter to Helen Wilkie dated 25th February 1841.
13. Cun III p 382: journal, 9th February 1841.
14. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 71: letter from Young to the author, dated 12th June 1847.
15. Ibid. p 71.

The wish to record exactitudes of dress and place is reflected in Wilkie's early studies of the wood cuts in the Bassandyne Bible. These include detailed diagrams of priests' robes, and complex plans of the exact layout of the Holy City.

Cun I p 3 states that

"Ratho possessed the old Scots Parliamentary Bible of the Regent Morton, a folio, of a clear and, for the times, a beautiful type, embellished with rude cuts on which [Wilkie] had looked with interest."

### 3. Portrait drawings: pp 166-171.

1. Cun III p 390: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 17th February 1841.
2. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 73: letter from Young to the author, dated 12th June 1847.
3. Wilkie made duplicates of his work from the earliest years; for example, the 1807 portrait of his parents, one version for his brother John in India, another for his sister Helen at home. Marks (1974) pp 205-206 discusses these duplicates.
- 3a. Cun III pp 349-350.  
Haydon (1963) Vol V p 30: journal, January 28th 1841:  
"This portrait of the Sultan, Geddes said, was not ordered by the Queen. But Wilkie meant to make her a present of it."
4. Cun III p 288: journal, 18th August 1840:  
"...if it had been a fine subject, like The Christ before Pontius Pilate, which Rembrandt has etched, [The Night Watch] would be one of the finest pictures he ever produced."

5. See, e.g., Reynolds (1959) pp 51-52: Discourse III.
- 5a. J.F. Lewis (1805-1876): see Stokes (1929) pp 1-53, and Lewis (1971) pp 23-33.
6. Cun II p 388: journal, 12th and 15th February 1841.
7. Cun III p 323: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 14th October 1840:  
"We have encountered John Lewis from Greece and Smyrna. He is making numbers of drawings. I said I was sure he would cast up in our route."  
Cun III p 326: letter to William Collins, dated 15th October 1840:  
"We were surprised by the arrival of John Lewis from Corfu, Athens and Smyrna. He has been making most clever drawings, as usual."
8. See, e.g., the Figure of a standing Girl, illustrated opposite p 28 in Stokes (1929).
9. There was no publication dealing with Turkish dress at this time [Dr. R. Hillenbrand, private communication].
10. Two drawings of different subject matter, At Amalfi and A Member of the Papal Guard, in the Temple Newsham Gallery, Leeds, are also classified as Wilkies; they are, however, clearly by Lewis, the former displaying his characteristically geometric treatment of form in the goat in the foreground.
11. 1860 Wilkie sale lot 386: Arab Sheiks encamped, near Jericho, bt Colnaghi £24/3/-.
12. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.): commentary on the engraving of An Arab Sheik (not paginated).

#### 4. Reformers in the East: pp 172-173.

1. For a full account see Ma'oz (1968).
2. Ibid. pp 118-123.  
Finden (1835) Vol I (not paginated): following Plate 77 is an account of the Old Testament significance of Hebron.
3. For an account of Lord Ponsonby's activity in these matters see Tibawi (1961) pp 31, 37-39, 47, 51-53, 61, 79.  
Ponsonby asked Wilkie to make an oil portrait of Lady Ponsonby [Cun III p 327: journal, 20th October 1840], but although Wilkie expressed willingness, there is no record that he even made a drawing.

4. Sir Moses Montefiore (1784-1885): the famous Zionist, who established the first Kibbutz in Jerusalem, and was active in defending the rights of Jews in the East.

See Cun III pp 328-329 and 334-336; Tibawi (1961) pp 77, 100, 140, and 150-151.

5. Sir Stratford Canning (later Lord de Redcliffe): See de Redcliffe (1881), and Lane-Poole (1888).

Canning was one of the major forces for reform in the Ottoman Empire, especially during his period of office from 1842 when he replaced Lord Ponsonby as British Ambassador to Turkey. He was certain that the Turkish Empire must crumble, but attempted a rescue operation by introducing European ideas and by "promoting judicious and well-considered reforms". He proved able to influence Sultan Abdul Mejid with the aid of Redshid Pacha.

When Wilkie was at Constantinople in October 1840, Canning was poised between appointments, and had settled in Genoa for the health of his invalid son. The Cannings were visiting Constantinople on their yacht, and showed Wilkie the sights of the city.[See Cun III p 329: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 21st October 1840; Cun III p 337: journal, 17th November 1840; Cun III pp 338-339: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 17th November 1840].

Searight (1969) attributes a portrait of Canning, reproduced between pages 88 and 89, to Wilkie, but it is clearly a lithograph of the study made by George Richmond which forms the frontispiece of Poole's Life of Stratford Canning. Wilkie does not seem to have made a drawing of this remarkable man.

6. John Cartwright: British Consul-General in Constantinople, noted for his hospitality to British travellers.

7. Wilkie described Beadle as "a man of science and speaker of Arabic", who was to take his position at the mission in Beyrout, the main American centre.

Tibawi (1966) pp 65-66 and 82-83, discusses the widespread educational programmes undertaken among the Arabs by the American missions, including an attempt to establish schools for Arab girls.

8. The dragoman, or interpreter, of William Young, and therefore a man of influence. Wilkie shows him in the role of teacher in (1841.64).



9. See Ma'oz (1968) pp 22 ff for details of the edict of 3rd November 1839 with a charter of rights:  
"The Muslim and other peoples who are amongst the subjects of our Imperial Sultanate, shall be the object of our Imperial favours without exception".

See also Cun III p 335.

5. Dramatic history subjects: pp 174-177.

1. Cun III p 366: journal, 13th January 1841.
2. William Allan painted the scene of Byron recovering in a Turkish fisherman's cottage after his swim across the Hellespont. A description of Byron's exploit is given in the Allan Exhibition catalogue [Allan (1851)] p 15, accompanying exhibit 53.
- 2a. Cun III p 338: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 17th November 1840.
3. David Roberts (1796-1864): commentary accompanying the lithograph of St. Jean d'Acre, in The Holy Land [Roberts (1842) Vol II Plates 21, 22].
- 3a. Cun III pp 402-403: journal, 5th March 1841.
- 3b. Cun III p 390: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 17th February 1841.
4. Cun III p 421: journal, 31st March 1841.
5. Cun III p 363: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 12th January 1841.
- 5a. Cun III p 366: letter to the Countess of Mulgrave, dated 12th January 1841.
- 5b. Cun III pp 344-345: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 1st December 1840.
6. Commander of the British Fleet at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre.  
See Cun III pp 340, 345 ff, and 384-386.
7. Cun III p 384: letter to George Young, dated 9th February 1841.
- 7a. Cun III p 386: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 10th February 1841.



8. Cun III p 339: journal, 19th November 1840.  
(1840.116) was probably made from this miniature.  
John Alison was an expert in oriental languages,  
and was held in high esteem by the Turks. He  
had been deputy to Canning.

6. Genre subjects in the East: pp 178-186.

1. Cun III p 320: journal, 6th October 1840.
2. Cun III p 326: letter to Collins, dated 15th  
October 1840.
3. Cun III p 338: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated  
17th November 1840.
4. Allan (1851) p 5: description of Allan's painting  
of The Slave Market, Constantinople.
5. Cun III p 330: journal, 27th October 1840.
6. Cun III p 319: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated  
2nd October 1840.
7. Cun III p 372: journal, 23rd January 1841.
8. Cun III p 334: letter to Sir Peter Laurie,  
dated 6th November 1840.  
Cun III p 339: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated  
17th November 1840.
9. Lithograph of Jericho in Roberts (1842): The Holy  
Land (not paginated) Vol II Plate 5.  
Jericho [see Deuteronomy 34. v.3] was one of the  
oldest cities in Palestine and the first place  
taken by the Israelites on entering the Holy  
Land. See Finden (1835) plate 47, a view drawn  
by Turner from a sketch made on the spot by Sir  
A. Edmonstone, and the accompanying text. In  
a letter to Collins Wilkie said that he wished  
Turner "at Jericho", partly, no doubt, to see the  
difference between reality and Turner's romanticised  
drawing. When Wilkie saw it, Jericho was in  
smoking ruin, and the "30 wretched cottages" of which  
it consisted were razed.  
The road from Jerusalem to the Jordan was held  
at the time to be the most dangerous about  
Palestine, being rocky desert; as Buckingham  
wrote:  
"One must be amid these rude and gloomy solitudes,  
surrounded by an armed band, and feel the  
impatience of the traveller, who rushes on to  
catch a new view at every pass and town; one

"must be alarmed at the very tramp of the horses' hoofs rebounding through the caverned rocks, and at the savage shouts of the footmen, scarcely less loud than the echoing thunder produced by the discharge of their pieces in the valleys; one must witness all this upon the spot, before the full force and beauty of the admirable story of the good Samaritan can be perceived."

Wilkie had doubtless read the above description, quoted in Finden (1835) loc. cit.

10. Cun III pp 401-410.
11. Cun III pp 402-403: journal, 5th March 1841.
12. Cun III p 403: journal, 5th/6th March 1841.
13. Cun III p 413: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 18th March 1841.
14. Cun III p 399: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 4th March 1841.
15. 1842 Second Wilkie Sale lot 297.
16. 1842 Second Wilkie Sale p 12: lots 224, 227-228; p 13: lots 230-233, 236-237; p 14: lots 253-260.
17. Cun III p 348: journal, 15th December 1840.
18. Cun III p 340: journal, 26th November 1840.
19. Allan (1850) pp 12-20.
20. Cun III p 388: journal, 16th February 1841.
21. Cun III pp 380-381: journal, 6th February 1841.
22. Cun III p 468: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 14th May 1841.
23. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 72: letter from Young to author, dated 12th June 1847.
24. Allan (1851) p 14: description of The Moorish Love Letter.
25. See note 1.
26. See Index, Vol II p 461.
27. Cun III p 331: journal, 30th October 1840.
28. Cun III pp 336-337: journal, 15th November 1840.  
Cun III pp 342-344: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 1st December 1840.

7. Drawings of religious subjects: pp 187-207.

1. Cun III p 378: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 30th January 1841.  
See also Chap.11, Sect.1, note 15.
2. Haydon (1963) Vol V p 69: journal, July 7th 1841.
3. Haydon (1963) Vol V pp 68-69, says however that Rembrandt was in "total ignorance as to the costumes which ever prevailed in Holy Countries..."
4. Cun III p 325.
5. Cun III p 423: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 31st March 1841.
6. Wilkie noted particularly the American mission establishments. Young also wanted a more formal British presence.  
See NLS Ms 9836 f 18: letter from Wilkie to Professor Buckland, dated 4th April 1841;  
Cun III p 472: journal, 27th May 1841.
7. Cun III p 397: journal, 28th February 1841, recording a service at Mr Young's house on Wilkie's first day in Jerusalem.
8. Cun III p 433: journal, 2nd April 1841.
9. Cun III p 329: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 21st October 1840.
10. Cun III p 375: journal, 30th January 1841.
11. Cun III pp 426-428: letter to Collins, dated 2nd April 1841.  
Cun III p 443: letter to Thomas Phillips, dated 4th April 1841.  
Allan Cunningham had been so impressed with Roberts' drawings that he offered to supply the text to accompany the illustrations. [Ballantine (1866) p 142: letter from Cunningham to Roberts, dated 26th March 1840].
12. Cun III p 426: letter to Collins, dated 2nd April 1841.
13. Cun III p 433: letter to the Earl of Leven, dated 3rd April 1841.
14. Welland (1943) p 46, quoting F.G. Stevens in The Germ.

15. Cun III p 357: letter to Samuel Rodgers, dated 30th December 1840.
16. Christ and the two disciples, at Emmaus; 'the figures painted from the life at Jerusalem': 1860 Wilkie sale lot 387, bt Russell £34/13/-.  
 Wilkie had been interested in this subject earlier; see Hart (1882) p 68:  
 "When showing me a copy from Rembrandt's Pilgrims of Emmaus, in the Louvre, he remarked, that this painting exemplified the power which a great artist can exercise over the meanest materials.  
 'There is no attempt, you see here, to embody in gorgeous costume a scene of Oriental life. The painter, by a negation of his tones, and the simplicity of his light and shade, has transported you back to remote times, and you survey the scene as it might have occurred'".
17. Cun III pp 374-377, 391, 418, 423, 426 and 441.
18. Green (1968): Poussin's Seven Sacraments, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, Chap.10.
19. Cun III p 376: journal, 30th January 1841.
20. Cun III p 468: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 14th May 1841.
21. See note 16.  
 Illustrated Vol 5 Plate 380.  
 Wilkie passed Emmaus on 7th April 1841 [Cun III p 446].
22. Cun III p 427: letter to Collins, dated 2nd April 1841.
23. Cun III p 448: journal, 11th April 1841.
24. Cun III pp 391-392: journal 20th February 1841.
25. Cun III p 283: letter to a lady, 25th May 1840.
26. Cun III p 427: letter to Collins, dated 2nd April 1841.
27. NLS Ms10995 f34-35 letter to Mrs Carrick Moore, dated 30th January 1841:  
 "...the customs however changed the people may be with whom they are in use, must yet be similar to those described in the Roman the Greek and the Sacred histories".  
 Cun III p 419: letter to Peel, dated 18th March 1841:  
 "Nothing here requires any revolution in our opinions of the finest works of art."

28. Searight (1969) p 51, quoting Sir Henry Blount.
29. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) pp 71 f: letter from Young to the author, 12th June 1847.
30. Benjamin West, P.R.A. (1738-1820): for a discussion see Irwin (1966) pp 148-151.
31. Cun III p 444: letter to James Hall, dated 4th April 1841.
32. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 71: letter from Young to the author, 12th June 1847.
33. Ibid.
34. Haydon ( 1950) illustration facing p 318.
35. Haydon (1963) Vol V p 58: journal, June 15th 1841.
36. Wilkie (1958) p 32 No.11: Plate 39 in the souvenir illustrated catalogue of the 1958 Wilkie exhibition.
37. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) pp 72-73: letter from Young to the author, dated 12th June 1847.
38. Cun III p 426: letter to Collins, dated 2nd April 1841.
39. Cun III p 288: journal, 19th August 1840.
40. Cun III p 372: journal, 22nd January 1841.
41. See note 39.
42. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 73: letter from Young to author, 12th June 1847.
43. Cun III p 397: journal, 27th February 1841.
44. Hart (1882) p 68.  
 Roberts was attempting to find a publisher for his drawings before Wilkie left London; by May 1841 he had come to an arrangement with Wilkie's own publisher Moon [Ballantine (1866) pp 140-141].
45. Cun III pp 417-418: letter to Peel, dated 18th March 1841; pp 428: letter to Collins, dated 2nd April 1841; p 404: journal, 6th March 1841; p 413: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 18th March 1841.
46. 1860 Wilkie sale lots 376 and 377.
47. Cun III p 393, quoting Collins.



48. 1842 First Wilkie sale lots 548, 549 and 665.
49. Roberts (1842) not paginated: The Holy Land, text accompanying the lithograph of The Pool of Bethesda, Vol I Plate 11.
50. Haydon (1963) Vol V p 57: journal, 15th June 1841.
51. Cun III p 404: journal, 6th March 1841.  
Cun III p 417: letter to peel, 18th March 1841.
52. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 63.
53. Tibawi (1961) p 67.  
Ibid. pp 29-57 contains a discussion of missionary work in Palestine.
54. Cun III p 426: letter to Collins, dated 2nd April 1841:  
"Our art...may give fresh proof of the correctness of the sacred narrators..."
55. Cun III p 389: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 17th February 1841, mentions this meeting.
56. Tibawi (1961) p 31.  
See also Ibid. pp 31-34 and 36-39, on Young.
57. Ibid. p 34, quoting Shaftesbury's diary, 29th September 1838.
58. Cun III p 323: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 14th October 1840.  
Ponsonby had struggled with the Sultan and his Suzerain Mehemet Ali for years to get the firman for the appointment of a British Consul in Jerusalem.
59. Cun III p 322: journal, 14th October 1840.  
on Sir Moses Montefiore, see Wolf (1884).
60. Cun III p 329: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 21st October 1840.
61. Palmerston especially added this last clause [Tibawi (1961) p 33].
62. Tibawi (1961) p 35, quoting Shaftesbury's diary entry four days after leaving Young.  
David Roberts met Young in Jerusalem on 10th April:  
"I waited on the new consul Mr Young who arrived here today" [Ballantine (1866) p 131].

63. Britain never formalised the situation, but retained enormous influence due to the development of commercial connections in which Young was also involved: see Tibawi (1961) pp 36-37.
64. Cun III p 397: journal, 28th February 1841.
65. Cun III p 408: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 9th March 1841; p 423: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 31st March 1841.  
See Tibawi (1961) pp 58-85 on conflicts of missions.
66. Cun III p 423.
67. Cun III p 408: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 9th March 1841.
68. Cun III p 398: journal, 28th February 1841.
69. Cun III pp 112-113: letter to Knighton, dated 4th November 1835.
70. Cun III p 395: letter to Helen Wilkie, dated 25th February 1841.
71. Cun III pp 335-336: letter to Sir Peter Laurie, dated 6th November 1840.
72. See Catalogue [Vol II] p 429.
73. See pp 196-197.
74. See discussion on pp 205-206.
75. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) pp 71-72: letter from Young to author, dated 12th June 1847.
76. Ibid. p 72.
77. Young employed both Muslim Arabs and Jews [Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 70].  
Tibawi (1961) pp 55-56 makes it clear that Young was expected to protect Jews from interference.
78. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 72.
79. With Victor Spark, New York, in 1972.
80. Cun III p 411: journal.
81. Cun III p 420: journal.
82. Cun III p 442: letter to Thomas Phillips, dated 4th April 1841.

83. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 72.
84. Cun III p 442: letter to Thomas Phillips, dated 4th April 1841.
85. Wilkie makes constant reference throughout his diaries to the appearance of women in places of instruction in Jerusalem: e.g., Cun III p 411: journal, 15th March 1841.

8. Artists in the East: pp 208-217.

1. Cun III p 323: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 14th October 1840.
2. Ballantine (1866) p 140.
3. Ibid. p 145: Lord Monson, in a letter to Roberts dated 12th June 1841, says that Roberts' "picture of Jerusalem is rendered now even more valuable to me from it having been painted at [Wilkie's] suggestion".  
See also Cun III pp 426, 428, 434 and 443.
4. Caw (1975) discusses the romanticism of William Allan, whose subjects included:  
The Slave Market, Constantinople;  
A Circassian Chief selling to a Turkish Pacha,  
Captives of a neighbouring Tribe taken in War;  
The Moorish Love Letter;  
Haslen Gheary crossing the Kuban with the  
Daughter of Nouradden Bey.
5. Caw (1975) p 109, calls Allan's Slave Market at Constantinople "original in the true sense. It is the result of personal observation, deals with fresh material, and in its contrast of races, Turks and Greeks, Circassians and Negroes, presents a vivid picture of the complexity of life where East and West meet".  
Ballantine (1866) p 150 quotes Lord Cockburn on Roberts' Eastern studies as having the "fidelity of portraiture... the finest touches of poetry".  
See Allan (1951) p 13: No.34, Sketch of a Moorish Girl and No.40, Sketch of a Moorish Boy.  
For Roberts, see, e.g., Thebes, illustrated in Quigley (1923) opposite p 19.
6. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 71: letter from Young to author, dated 12th June 1847.

7. Irwin (1975) p 212.
  
8. Ballantine (1866) p 112; quoting Roberts:  
 " I am so completely transmogrified in appearance  
 that my dear old mother would never know me.  
 Before I could get admission to the mosques I  
 had to transfer my whiskers to my upper lip, and  
 don the full Arab costume, since when I have been  
 allowed to make sketches, both in oil and  
 water colour of the principal mosques".  
  
 Lewis also gained access to mosques to draw: see  
 Lewis (1971) p 24, Nos. 44, 45, 46, 48, 54, 55 etc.
  
9. Cun III p 372.  
 Lewis lived in a house away from the European  
 quarter of Cairo, in the Arab quarter, surrounded  
 by his servants and the local population  
 [Stokes (1929) pp 22 ff] .  
  
 Roberts travelled quite freely, although he did not  
 have the language, with one or two companions,  
 meeting men of all stations. See Ballantine (1866)  
 pp 80-140: extracts from Roberts's journals and  
 letters.
  
10. Cun III pp 372-373: journal, 23rd January 1841.
  
11. Illustrated in Searight (1969) between pp 96 & 97.
  
12. Cun III p 375: journal, 30th January 1841.
  
13. Allan (1851) p 16, No.56:  
Portrait of Sir William Allan in his Circassian  
Dress; painted by himself while in Circassia.  
  
 Stokes (1929) p 25 quotes Thackeray's description  
 of Lewis's appearance in 1844:  
 "He has adapted himself outwardly to the oriental  
 life. When he goes abroad he rides a grey  
 horse with red housings, and has two servants  
 to walk beside him. He wears a very handsome  
 grave costume of dark blue, consisting of an  
 embroidered jacket and gaiters, and a pair of  
 trousers, which would make a set of dresses for  
 an English family."  
  
 Ballantine (1866) p 107 quotes the journal of  
 Roberts for 2nd January 1839:  
 "... before I can visit the various mosques, or  
 make drawings of them, I must assume the Turkish  
 dress..."
  
14. Cun III p 425: letter to Collins, dated 2nd April  
 1841.
  
15. Roberts (1842) Vol I : Notice of Mr Roberts'  
Journey in the East, by Croly (not paginated).

16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Cun III p 317: journal, 1st October 1840;  
p 319: letter to Thomas Wilkie, dated 2nd  
October 1840.
19. Thackeray (1846) pp 377-381 gives an account  
of this visit.
20. Ruskin (1851) p 34.
21. Allan (1851) p 14 No.42:  
"The black slave obeyed his master's orders, and  
silently stole upon the poor Moorish girl at the  
moment when, having released from its cage the  
feathered partner of her captivity, she bound  
the packet round its neck, and trusted to the  
hand of providence the letter".  
'Taken from Allan's journal of 1834'.
22. Ibid. p 15 No. 53: Lord Byron reposing in the  
House of a Turkish Fisherman, after having swam  
across the Hellespont.
23. Ibid. p 5 No. 5 gives a full description.
24. Lewis (1971) p 30 Plate 17.
25. Letter from John Ruskin to Lewis, received 14th May  
1859 [Coll. Brig. J.M.H. Lewis]; extract quoted in  
Lewis (1971) p 36 No. 117.
26. Ruskin (1904) pp 73-78.
27. Roberts (1842) Vol 1 Plate 23.
28. See note 15.
29. Ballantine (1866) p 128 quotes Roberts' own  
description of Palm Sunday in Jerusalem, March  
1839.
30. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 73: letter from Young  
to author, dated 12th June 1847, makes it clear  
that Wilkie reacted immediately to the death of  
the Austrian artist sent to paint the siege of  
Acre, by arranging to leave Jerusalem. Wilkie's  
journal does not make clear his reason for leaving  
[Cun III p 421]; the evident weakness of the  
handwriting in the letter to Peel, dated 18th March  
1841 [BM Ms Add 40608 ff 11-22], suggests that  
Wilkie was already an ill man.



31. For example, Roberts' views of Jerusalem [Roberts (1842) Vol I Plates 1-25].
32. Cun III p 373: journal, 23rd January 1841.
33. Searight (1969) p 173.
34. Roberts (1842) Vol II Plates 31 and 42.
35. Compare Roberts (1842) Vol III Plate 2, with Lewis (1971) pp 25-26 Plates 60-63.
36. See Sect. 3 note 12.
37. Roberts (1842) Vol I Plate 43.
38. Roberts' drawings corrected inaccuracies and exaggerations in earlier drawings of the same scenes. For example, his drawing of Mount Tabor [Roberts (1842) Vol I Plate 26 carefully represents the scale of the mountain relative to the surrounding countryside. Copies of his lithographs are still sold in Jerusalem today as definitive representations of the localities [Hillenbrand, private communication].
39. Roberts (1842) Vol II Plate 17.
40. Ibid. Vol I Plate 28.
41. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 74: letter from Young to author, Dated 12th June 1847.

9. Types of drawings; purpose and media: pp 218-224.

1. For other examples of Eastern portraits on coloured paper, see (1840.86), (1840.93), (1840.118), (1841.4), (1841.86).
2. Mr J. Dick, Restoration Dept., National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, who examined the drawing before cleaning, does not agree that the white is contemporary with the other colours.
3. Wilkie Gallery (n.d.) p 74.
4. Cun I p 454: letter to Beaumont, dated 12th December 1816.
5. Finden (1836) Vol II Plate 78: Olives in the Garden of Gethsemane, sketched by Mrs Bracebridge, redrawn by J.D. Harding.

6. Roberts (1842) Vol I Plate 17: Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives; see accompanying text.
7. When in the possession of the Fine Art Society, London, in 1966, the mount of the drawing bore the title Malta and the inscription:  
"Wilkie died at sea on his way home from Malta in 1841...this must be one of his last drawings".
8. See Vol I pp 50-52.
9. *SLS* No 9835 ff 9-10: letter to MacDonald, dated 15th July 1835:  
"...his workmanship is the most admirable I ever saw & some of the pieces of the pictures you cannot make out at all" (a passage omitted in *Gen I* p 72).
10. *Gen II* p 178:  
"The qualities admired by artists in the Venetian school are mixed up with a something objectionable to the common eye, or are of a sort too technical or abstract for their comprehension".
11. *Gen III* p 140: at this point, Wilkie's remarks include a eulogy on Rembrandt's powers.
12. See Wilkie's Remarks on Painting, especially *Gen III* pp 152, 156-7.
13. Reynolds (1857) p 226: Discourse XII.
14. *MSB* (1960) pp 34-36  
Wilkie had reservations about Allan's abilities in this field. In *SLS* No 9835 f 9: letter to MacDonald, dated 15th July 1835, Wilkie says of Allan's Boy and his dog in the exhibition at Somerset House:  
"He has also hid the hands & put shade (sic) upon the feet which look as if he would not draw (sic) hands and feet & had taken that piece to hide them" (a passage omitted in *Gen I* p 72).
15. See, for example, T. Duncan: *MSA* 429, Study of Hagar; J. Ramsay: *MSB* (1960) pp 163-165.
16. Haydon (1850) p 44:  
"His knowledge in composition was exquisite. The remarks he made to me relative to his own works I looked into carefully for and found them applied there, and then it was evident to me that Wilkie's permanent pictures concealed deep principles of the 'poetic truth'".
17. See pp 76-77.

## Conclusion

1. Cun III p 153.
2. Reynolds (1959) p 101: Discourse VI
3. Cun III pp 129-215.
4. Reynolds (1959) p 103: Discourse VI
5. NLS Ms 9835 ff 9-10: letter to MacDonald, dated 15th July 1805:  
"..his workmanship is the most abominable I ever saw & some of the pieces of the picture you cannot make out at all" [a passage omitted in Cun I p 79].
6. Cun II p 178:  
"The qualities admired by artists in the Venetian school are mixed up with a something objectionable to the common eye, or are of a sort too technical or abstract for their comprehension".
7. Cun III p 140: at this point, Wilkie's remarks include a eulogy on Rembrandt's powers.
8. See Wilkie's Remarks on Painting, especially Cun III pp 153, 186-7.
9. Reynolds (1959) p 226: Discourse XII.
10. NGS (1960) pp 34-36  
Wilkie had reservations about Allan's abilities in this field. In NLS Ms 9835 f 9: letter to MacDonald, dated 15th July 1805, Wilkie says of Allan's Boy and an Ass in the exhibition at Somerset House:  
"He has also hid the hands & put shose (sic) upon the feet which look as if he could not dray (sic) hands and feet & had taken that plan to hide them" [a passage omitted in Cun I p 78].
11. See, for example, T. Duncan: RSA 429, Study of Hands; A. Ramsay: NGS (1960) pp 163-188.
12. Haydon (1950) p 44:  
"His knowledge in composition was exquisite. The remarks he made to me relative to his own works I looked into Raffaele for and found them applied there, and then it was evident to me that Wilkie's peasant-pictures concealed deep principles of the 'ponere totum'".
13. See pp 76-77.

14. NGS (1960) p 25: D. 3961, Cottar's Saturday Night , pen and wash, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ "; inscribed 'Scetch of - Cottar's Saturday Night, Burns Vol. 2, p. 3.'
15. This etching is sometimes numbered 42 in the bottom right. The figure is used in Old Woman searching for nits in a Child's Hair, signed D Deuchar fecit, and numbered 2 bottom right. This composition is close to The Cut Finger by Wilkie in the arrangement of figures [e.g. the child leaning, head tilted on hand, over the back of the old woman's chair].
16. Hardie (1968) Vol II Plate 110.
17. Ibid. p 137.
18. Redgrave (1890) pp 269-270, 274, 298-299.
19. NGS (1960) p 117: D.4441, Study of figures dancing to bagpipes, pen, 4  $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 10  $\frac{7}{8}$ ".
20. Cun III p 163.
21. Cun III p 153.
22. Cun III p 203.
23. Williams (1831) Vol II p 566: Lawrence's will refers to "my picture, by Rembrandt of the wife of Potiphar accusing Joseph".  
Wilkie made a free study of this picture in 1822.
24. See NGS (1960) p 59.
25. Haydon (1950) pp 181-182: Haydon and Segulier found this "uncertain, muzzy, confused, mannered".
26. The traditional view of a complete break in Wilkie's style is, of course, an oversimplification. His letters make it clear that many subtleties affected his painting style. One major factor was the appropriateness of scale and treatment to subject: see the letter from Wilkie to Robert Vernon on The White Boy's Cabin [NLS Ms 10995 f 29, 15th October 1835].
27. Fry (1934) p 96.
28. Ibid., p 98.
29. Ibid., p 96. Speaking of Wilkie's paintings, Fry says "Perhaps, indeed, he had no very marked personal vision".

30. Ibid. p 96.
31. Redgrave (1890) p 298 says that Mulready did not feel it right to "mould [the model] to some preconceived idea".
32. Fry (1934) p 96.
33. Uwins (1858) Vol II p 206: letter from Severn to Uwins, dated 29th January 1826.
34. Cun III pp 142-143.
35. Fry (1934) p 98.

BIBLIOGRAPHY



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Principal Manuscript Collections consulted:

Cambridge: University Library.  
 Edinburgh: National Library of Scotland.  
 Scottish Record Office.  
 Scottish National Portrait Gallery.  
 University Library.  
 New College Library.

Dublin: National Library of Ireland.

Glasgow: University Library.  
 Mitchell Library.

Liverpool: Barby Library.

London: British Museum.  
 Royal Academy of Arts.  
 Royal Library.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Library.

New York City: Morgan Library.

Oxford: Bodleian Library.

San Marino, California: Huntington Library.

St. Andrews: University Library.

Large collections of correspondence from Wilkie to Sir Robert Peel and Percy Murray are held by the British Museum, and from Wilkie to Abraham Haistack by the Huntington Library.

The outstanding collection of Wilkie's manuscript material is at the National Library of Scotland, and is constantly being supplemented. Although much of the material is published in Allan Cunningham's *Life of Sir David Wilkie* (1843), a comparison of letters published by Cunningham with the manuscript sources shows that he cannot be entirely relied upon. Wilkie's family commissioned this work (see MS No. 104.1.1.37) but were strictly enjoined by those who lent correspondence to use discretion when publishing (see MS No. 104.1.1.37 f. 206: letter from Peel to Thomas Wilkie dated 21st Nov. 1841). This discretion was all too clearly exercised, and can be seen, for example, in Vol. I pp. 77-78, where is quoted a letter from Wilkie to Thomas MacDermid dated 15th July 1807 [MS No. 104.1.1.37 f. 9-10]. Cunningham

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Principal Manuscript Collections consulted:

Cambridge:	University Library.
Edinburgh:	National Library of Scotland. Scottish Record Office. Scottish National Portrait Gallery. University Library. New College Library.
Dublin:	National Library of Ireland.
Glasgow:	University Library. Mitchell Library.
Liverpool:	Hornby Library.
London:	British Museum. Royal Academy of Arts. Victoria & Albert Museum.
New Haven, Conn.:	Yale University Library.
New York City:	Morgan Library.
Oxford:	Bodleian Library.
San Marino, California	Huntingdon Library.
St. Andrews:	University Library.

Large collections of correspondence from Wilkie to Sir Robert Peel and Perry Nursey are held by the British Museum, and from Wilkie to Abraham Raimbach by the Huntingdon Library.

The outstanding collection of Wilkie manuscript material is at the National Library of Scotland, and is constantly being supplemented. Although much of the material is published in Allan Cunningham's Life of Sir David Wilkie (1843), a comparison of letters published by Cunningham with the manuscript sources shows that he cannot be entirely relied upon. Wilkie's family commissioned this memoir [see BM Ms Add 40486 f 57: letter from Thomas Wilkie to Peel, dated 6th Aug. 1841], but were strictly enjoined by those who lent correspondence to use discretion when publishing [see BM Ms Add 40495 f 205: letter from Peel to Thomas Wilkie dated 21st Nov. 1841]. This discretion was all too clearly exercised, as can be seen, for example, in Cun I pp 77-79, where in quoting a letter from Wilkie to Thomas MacDonal dated 15th July 1805 [NLS Ms 9835 ff 9-10], Cunningham

expunges disparaging remarks about two contemporary artists, Turner and William Allan. Most letters are re-punctuated; others are cut without indication of where the omissions occur; in both cases the sense of some passages is altered. Many errors result from the obscurity of Wilkie's handwriting. For example, in Cun III p 457, Cunningham quotes the ending of the letter from Wilkie to John Abel Smith dated 30th April 1841 [NLS Acc 6339] as

"your affectionately obliged..servant",  
whereas it is actually

"your respectfully obliged ..servant",  
casting quite a different light on the relationship between the two men.

Arthur Marks, who has contributed the most substantial piece of modern research on Wilkie's paintings [Marks (1968)], points out that Cunningham did not come to London until 1810 [Ibid. p 17], and is therefore less reliable on matters before this date. Haydon, who found Cunningham very inaccurate in anecdotal detail, provides in his Diaries and Autobiography a useful supplement and corrective to Cunningham, who remains, despite his faults, the principal published source on Wilkie.

Millonnet - Printed notes.

Aburdeen Art Gallery (1958): Permanent Collection Catalogue. Aberdeen.

Aberdeen Art Gallery (1975): Artist and Patron in the North East, 1745-1860, Exhibition 1975-1976, May 1975; introduction by David Irvine, Aberdeen.

Agnew, T. & Sons Ltd. (1965): Third Annual Exhibition of Scottish Art and Drawings, 25th January-6th March 1965, London.

Allan, David (1791): Catalogue of the valuable Pictures, Engravings, and Prints of the late Sir David Allan, British Painter, Edinburgh.

Allan, David (1830): Facsimile of a Letter from Sir David Allan to the Rev. Mr. James Buchanan, Bart. of the Castle of Edinburgh, by Allan, Edinburgh, & London, and illustrations by Allan, Edinburgh, & London.

Allan, Sir William (1849): 'Sir William Allan', 221 Journal 1849, pp 108-109 [anon].

Allan, Sir William (1850): Catalogue of the valuable Pictures, Engravings, and Prints of the late Sir David Allan, British Painter, Edinburgh. In his Speech on the Motion for the Appointment of a Committee to Enquire into the Affairs of the Scottish Art Gallery, delivered by Sir W. Allan, 1st April 1850, Edinburgh.

Allan, Sir William (1851): Exhibition of the Historical and Other Works of the late Sir William Allan, Edinburgh.

Adams, E. (1966): 'A Sheet of Early William Skotcher', Scottish Art Review 2.3, pp 5-9, 28.

Antal, F. (1956): Essays on Art, London.

Antal, F. (1967): Spencer and his place in European Art, London.

Armstrong, Sir Walter (1898): Scottish Painters, London.

Armstrong, Sir Walter (1901): Mr Henry Raeburn, London & New York.

Baillie, James (1883): The Dramatic and Poetical Works of James Baillie, complete in one vol., 1st ed., London.

Baird, M. (1907): John Robert Burns, Edinburgh.

- Aberdeen Art Gallery (1968): Permanent Collection Catalogue, Aberdeen.
- Aberdeen Art Gallery (1975): Artist and Patron in the North East, 1760-1860, Exhibition 10th-31st May 1975, introduction by David Irwin, Aberdeen.
- Agnew, T. & Sons Ltd. (1965): 92nd Annual Exhibition of Watercolours and Drawings, 25th January-6th March 1965, London.
- Allan, David (1792): Catalogue of the Valuable Pictures, Drawings, ...the Property of the Late Mr David Allan, History Painter, Edinburgh.
- Allan, David (1880): facsimile of 1788 edition of The Gentle Shepherd, by Allan Ramsay, with preface and illustrations by Allan, Edinburgh & London.
- Allan, Sir William (1849): 'Sir William Allan', Art Journal 1849, pp 108-109 [anon.]
- Allan, Sir William (1850): Catalogue of the Valuable Original Pictures, Sketches, and Studies ... of the Late Sir William Allan, together with his Superb Collection of Ancient Armour, auctioned by C.B. Tait and T. Nesbit 18th-20th April 1850, Edinburgh.
- Allan, Sir William (1851): Exhibition of the Historical and Other Works of the Late Sir William Allan, Edinburgh.
- Andrews, K. (1966): 'A Sheet of Early Wilkie Sketches', Scottish Art Review X,3, pp 5-9,28.
- Antal, F. (1956): Fuseli Studies, London.
- Antal, F. (1962): Hogarth and his place in European Art, London.
- Armstrong, Sir Walter (1888): Scottish Painters, London.
- Armstrong, Sir Walter (1901): Sir Henry Raeburn, London & New York.
- Baillie, Joanna (1853): The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Joanna Baillie, complete in one vol., 2nd ed., London.
- Baird, W. (1895): John Thomson of Duddingston, Edinburgh.



- Ballantine, J. (1866): The Life of David Roberts, R.A.,  
Edinburgh.
- Barry, J. (1809): The Works of James Barry, 2 vols.,  
London.
- Bassandyne Bible (1576): The Bible & Holy Scriptures...,  
Edinburgh .
- Bayne, W. (1903): Sir David Wilkie, R.A., London.
- Bell, Mrs.A. (1899): Representative Painters of the  
Nineteenth Century, London.
- Bell, Sir Charles (1870): Letters of Sir Charles Bell,  
London.
- Bell, Sir Charles (1883): The Anatomy and Philosophy  
of Expression, as connected with the Fine Arts,  
London.
- Benesch, O. (1954): The Drawings of Rembrandt, 6 vols.,  
London.
- Bernardin de St.Pierre, J.H. (1974): Paul et Virginie,  
Paris.
- Binyon, L. (1898): Catalogue of Drawings ... in the  
British Museum, London.
- Blunden, E. (1930): Leigh Hunt, a Biography, London.
- Boase, T.S.R. (1959a): English Art 1800-1870, Oxford.
- Boase, T.S.R. (1959b): 'Sir David Wilkie's Chair',  
Country Life CXXV (Feb.1959), p 349.
- Bogue, D. (1879): British Painters of the Eighteenth  
and Nineteenth Centuries, London.
- British Council (1972): La Peinture Romantique Anglaise  
et les PreRaphaelites, exhibition Jan.- Avril 1972,  
Paris.
- Britton, J. (1808): Catalogue Raisonne of the Pictures  
Belonging to the Most Honourable Marquis of Stafford,  
London.
- Brown, P.Hume (1895): John Knox, London.
- Brown, R. (1808): Memoirs of the late David Allan,  
painter in Edinburgh: commonly called the Scots  
'Hogarth' [in Ramsay, A., The Gentle Shepherd],  
London.

- Brydall, R. (1899): Art in Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Buchan, 11th Earl of (1859): Catalogue of the Collection of Books and Pictures belonging to the Earl of Buchan, auctioned by T. Nesbit, 9th-10th December 1859, Edinburgh.
- Buchan, J. (1932): Sir Walter Scott, London.
- Buchanan, W. (1824): Memoirs of Painting, with a chronological history of the importation of pictures by the Great Masters into England since the French Revolution, 2 vols., London.
- Burnet, John (1827): A Practical Treatise on Painting, London.
- Burnet, John (1848): Practical Essays in Various Branches of the Fine Arts, to which is added a Critical Inquiry into the principles and practices of the late Sir David Wilkie, London.
- Burnet, John (1849): Landscape Painting in Oil Colours, London.
- Burnet, John (1850a): A Treatise on Painting, London.
- Burnet, John (1850b): 'Autobiography of John Burnet', Art Journal 1850 pp 275-277.
- Burnet, John (1852): Turner and his Works, London [with Cunningham, P.]
- Burnet, John (1854): The Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century, London.
- Burnet, John (1860): 'Recollections of my Contemporaries', Art Journal 1860, pp 236-237.
- Burnet, John (1865): Practical Hints on Composition in Painting, 7th ed., London.
- Burns, Robert (n.d.): The Complete Works of Robert Burns; with a New Life of the Poet...ed. Cunningham, A., London. [c.1840]
- Bury, Adrian (1950): Two Centuries of British Watercolour Painting, London.
- Campbell, J.P. (1965): 'The Chelsea Pensioners Reading The Waterloo Gazette' by Sir David Wilkie R.A. (1785-1841); A Study of a Phase in Wilkie's Artistic Development, unpublished thesis for Edinburgh University.

- Campbell, J.P. (1969a): 'Drawings related to Wilkie's painting of Columbus at the Convent of La Rabida', North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin VIII,3, (March 1969), pp 17-26.
- Campbell, J.P. (1969b): 'Sir David Wilkie as a Historical Painter', Country Life CXLVI (14th August 1969), pp 398-400.
- Campbell, J.P. (1971): 'Wilkie and Burnett at Apsley House', Country Life CXLIX (25th February 1971), pp 416-418.
- Campbell, J.P. (1973): The Art and Influence of David Allan, Clackmannanshire Field Studies Society.
- Campbell, J.P. et al (1977): Changing Life in Scotland 1760-1820, ed. A. Forrester and M. Moss, London.
- Carey, W.P. (1825): Observations on the probable decline or extinction of British Historical Painting, London.
- Carter, C. (1960): 'Scottish Artists in Parallel. The similar experiences of Wilkie and Phillips', Apollo LXXII, pp 101-104.
- Caw, Sir J.L. (1908): Scottish Painting, Past and Present, 1620-1908, Edinburgh.
- Chambers, R. (1825): Traditions of Old Edinburgh, 2 vols., Edinburgh.
- Clay, R.M. (1948): Julius Caesar Ibbetson 1759-1817, London.
- Clerk, John of Eldin (1825): A Series of Etchings, Chiefly of Views in Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Clerk, John of Eldin (1833): Catalogue of the Extensive, Genuine and Highly Valuable Collection of Pictures, late property of the Hon. John Clerk of Eldin, sold by auction by T. Winstanley, 14th-29th March 1833, Edinburgh.
- Clerk, John of Eldin (1855): A Series of Etchings, Chiefly of Views in Scotland, ed. Laing, David, Edinburgh.
- Collins, W. Wilkie (1848): Memoirs of the Life of William Collins Esq., R.A., with selections from his journals and correspondence, 2 vols., London.

- Collins Baker, C.H. (1920): Catalogue of the Petworth Collection of Pictures in the Possession of Lord Leconfield, London.
- Colnaghi, P.&D.& Co. Ltd. (1971): Exhibition of English Paintings, Drawings and Prints, 23rd Feb. -19th Mar. 1971, London.
- Constable, John (1962-1968): John Constable's Correspondence ed. R.B.Beckett, 6 vols., London.
- Constable, John (1970): Discourses, ed. R.B.Beckett, London.
- Coxe, Peter (1923): The Social Day, A Poem in Four Cantos, London.
- Craig, D. (1964): Scottish Literature and the Scottish People 1680-1830, London.
- Cummings, F. (1964): 'On Bell's Anatomy of Expression', Art Bulletin XLVI, pp 191-203.
- Cummings F., Staley A., & Rosenblum R. (1968): Romantic Art in Britain. Paintings and Drawings 1760-1860, Philadelphia.
- Cunningham, Allan (1843): The Life of Sir David Wilkie, 3 vols., London.
- Cunningham, Allan (1878-1879): Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, revised ed. annotated by Mrs. C.Heaton, 3 vols., London.
- Cursiter, Stanley (1949): Scottish Art to the Close of the Nineteenth Century, London.
- Davis, F. (1963): Victorian Patrons of the Arts, London.
- De Conches, F.F. (1882): 'Sir David Wilkie', L'Artiste XVII, pp 99-122.
- Delacroix, Eugene (1936): Correspondance Generale de Eugene Delacroix, ed. A. Joubin, 5 vols., Paris.
- Dennistoun, J. (1885): Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange and A. Lumisden, 2 vols., London.
- De Redcliffe, Sir Stratford (1881): The Eastern Question, 8 vols., London.
- Desrosiers, Jacques (1868): 'David Wilkie', G.B.A. 2nd Series I, pp 85-98.
- Desrosiers, Jacques (1869): 'David Wilkie: Quelques extraits de sa Correspondance', G.B.A. 2nd Series II, pp 240-251.

- Deuchar, David (1803a): A Collection of Etchings, after the most ancient masters of the Dutch and Flemish Schools, particularly Rembrandt, Ostade, Cornelius Bega and Van Vliet, Edinburgh.
- Deuchar, David (1803b): Dances of Death, Edinburgh.
- Dibdin, T.F. (1829): A Biographical, Antiquarian and Picturesque Tour in France and Germany, 3 vols., 2nd ed., London.
- Dobree, Samuel (1819): The Book of Death, London.
- Dodgson, Campbell (1936): The Etchings of Sir David Wilkie and Andrew Geddes, London.
- Drummond, A.L. (1938): Edward Irving and his Circle, London.
- Drummond, H. (1840): Letters to Thomas Phillips on the Connection between the Fine Arts and Religion, and the means of their revival, London.
- Dundee City Art Gallery (1973): Catalogue of the Permanent Collection of Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture, by W.R.Hardie, Dundee.
- Edgeworth, Maria (1894): The Life and Letters of Maria Edgeworth, ed. A.J.C.Hare, 2 vols., London.
- Errington, L. (1975): Sir David Wilkie: Drawings into Paintings, catalogue of NGS Exhibition 13th Aug.-24th Sept. 1975, Edinburgh.
- Errington, L. (1976): 'Wilkie's Distraint for Rent', NGS Bulletin 1976 No.2.
- Erskine, Sir James of Torrie (1839): Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures, Marbles and Bronzes, bequeathed to the University of Edinburgh by Sir James Erskine of Torrie, Edinburgh.
- Farington, Joseph (1924): Diary 1793-1821, 8 vols., London.
- Farr, D. (1958): 'Sir David Wilkie R.A.', Burlington Magazine C, pp 439f.
- Fawcett, T. (1974): The Rise of English Provincial Art, Oxford.
- Finberg, A.J. (1961): The Life of J.M.W.Turner, Oxford.
- Finden, W.&E. (1836): Landscape Illustrations of the Bible, 2 vols., London.



- Fine Art Society Ltd. (1972): 100 Years of Scottish Painting, catalogue of exhibition 21st Aug.-9th Sept. 1972, Edinburgh.
- Fine Art Society Ltd. (1976): Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Watercolours of Scottish Interest, catalogue of Exhibition 14th May-5th June 1976, Edinburgh.
- Finlay, Ian (1948): Art in Scotland, Oxford.
- Fleming, John (1962): 'Enigma of a Rococo Artist', Country Life CXXXI (24th May 1962), pp 1224-1226.
- Foulis, Robert (1776): A Catalogue of Pictures, composed and painted chiefly by the most admired of the Roman, Florentine, Parman, Bolognese, Venetian, Flemish and French Schools, 3 vols., London.
- Foulis, Robert & Andrew (1758): A Catalogue of Pictures, Drawings, Prints, Statues and Busts, in plaster of Paris, done at the Academy in the University of Glasgow, Glasgow.
- Fraser, Sir William (1890): The Melvilles, Earls of Melville and the Leslie, Earls of Leven, 3 vols., Edinburgh.
- Fraser-Harris, D.F. (1936): 'William de la Cour, painter, engraver and teacher of drawing', Scottish Bookman I (Jan.1936), pp 12-19.
- Frith, W.P. (1887-1888): My Autobiography and Reminiscences, 3 vols., London.
- Fry, Roger (1934): Reflections on British Painting, London.
- Galt, John (1976): The Last of the Lairds, ed. I.Gordon, Edinburgh & London.
- Geddes, Adela (1844): Memoir of the Late Andrew Geddes, Esq., A.R.A., London.
- Geddes, Andrew (1821): Catalogue of Mr. Geddes's pictures now exhibiting in Bruce's Great Room, Waterloo Place, Edinburgh.
- Geddes, Andrew (1845): Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Pictures, and Drawings by Old Masters, Etchings, Books and Articles of Taste and Vertu: Formed by that elegant and accomplished artist Andrew Geddes, Esq., A.R.A. Deceased, also

his own original subjects, sketches, and capital copies of celebrated pictures by Old Italian Masters; Painting implements, armour, and draperies, sold by auction by Christie & Manson, 8th April 1845, London.

Geddes, David (1804): Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Prints by great ancient and modern masters of all the schools: formed by David Geddes, sold by auction by T.Philipe, 30th April 1804, London.

Geikie, Walter (1885): Etchings, Illustrative of Scottish Character and Scenery by the late Walter Geikie, ed. Sir T.D.Lauder, Edinburgh.

Gericault, Theodore (1947): Gericault raconte par lui-meme et par ses amis, Geneva.

Gheray, Haslan (1817): A Narrative illustration of the subject of a painting by William Allan, Edinburgh.

Godwin, W. (1805): The Looking Glass, a true history of the early years of an artist, by Theophilus Marcliffe [pseudonym for Godwin], London.

Gordon, I.A. (1972): John Galt, Edinburgh.

Gordon, T.C. (1951): David Allan of Alloa, Alva.

Gould, C. (1976): The Paintings of Correggio, Cornell.

Gower, Lord R.S. (1902a): Old Diaries, 1881-1901, London.

Gower, Lord R.S. (1902b): Sir David Wilkie, London.

Graham, H.G. (1964): Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, London.

Greaves, M. (1966): Regency Patron: Sir George Beaumont, London.

Green, A.S. (1968): Nicolas Poussin: The Seven Sacraments, 2 vols., unpublished thesis for Edinburgh University (Ph.D).

Greig, J. (1911): Sir Henry Raeburn R.A., London.

Guy, J.C. (1916): 'Edinburgh Engravers', Book of the Old Edinburgh Club IX, pp 79-113.

Hadden, J.Cuthbert (1898): George Thomson, The Friend of Burns, London.

- Hall, Rev.J. (1807): Travels in Scotland, London.
- Hall, S.C. (1849-1854): The Vernon Gallery of British Art, 3 vols., London.
- Hanna, Rev.W. (1850): Memoir of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, 4 vols., Edinburgh.
- Hardie, M. (1947): 'David Roberts', Old Watercolour Society Club XXV, pp 10-20.
- Hardie, M. (1968): Watercolour Painting in Britain, 3 vols., London.
- Hart, S.A. (1882): Reminiscences, ed. A.Brodie, London.
- Harvey, Sir George (1873): Note on the Early History of the Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh.
- Haydon, B.R. (1876): Correspondence and Table Talk, ed. F.W.Haydon, 2 vols., London.
- Haydon, B.R. (1950): The Autobiography and Journals of Benjamin Robert Haydon 1786-1846, ed. M.Elwin, London.
- Haydon, B.R. (1963): Diary, ed. W.B.Pope, 5 vols., Cambridge, Mass.
- Haydon, B.R. & Hazlitt, W. (1838): Painting and the Fine Arts, Edinburgh.
- Hazlitt, W. (1804-1841): Volume of Newspaper Cuttings and Mss 1804-1841, V.&A.Lib. London [Unpublished].
- Hazlitt, W. (1821): Table Talk, or Original Essays, 2 vols., London.
- Hazlitt, W. (1901-1906): 'On Mr. Wilkie's Pictures', in Collected Works, ed. R.A.Walker & A.Glover, XI, pp 249-253, London.
- Hazlitt, W. (1951): Lectures on the English Comic Writers, ed. R.B.Johnson, Oxford.
- Heaphy, Thomas (1836): Sale of the Works and Effects of Thomas Heaphy, auctioned by Foster, 4th May 1836, London.
- Heaton, Mrs.C. (1868): The Great Works of Sir David Wilkie, London.
- Heaton, Mrs.C. (1873): A Concise History of Painting, London.

- Henley, W.E. & Walker, R. (1889): A Century of Artists, Glasgow.
- Herrmann, F.(1972): The English as Collectors, London.
- Hewins, W.A.S. (1898): The Whitefoord Papers, ed. W.A.S.Hewins, London.
- Holmes, Sir C.J. (1902): Constable and his influence on Landscape Painting, London.
- Home, John (1804): Douglas, a Tragedy, London.
- Hunt, Holman (1913): PreRaphaelitism and the PreRaphaelite Brotherhood, 2nd ed., 2 vols., London.
- Hunt, Leigh (1949): Autobiography, ed. J.E. Morpugo, London.
- Hunt, Leigh & Reynell, Carew (1806-1808): Classic Tales, ed. Hunt & Reynell, London.
- Irving, Washington (1862-1864): The Life and Letters of Washington Irving, ed. P.M.Irving, 4 vols., London.
- Irwin, D. (1966): English Neoclassical Art, London.
- Irwin, D. & F. (1975): Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad 1700-1900, London.
- Irwin, F. (1965): 'Scottish Eighteenth Century Chintz and its Design', Burlington Magazine CVII, pp 452-458 & 510-514.
- Irwin, F. (1972): 'Early Raeburn Reconsidered', Burlington Magazine CXV, pp 239-244.
- Irwin, F. (1974a): 'The Scots Discover Spain', Apollo XCIX, pp 353-357.
- Irwin, F. (1974b): 'Wilkie at the Crossroads', Burlington Magazine CXVI, pp 214-216.
- Jackson, J. (1831): Sketches and Drawings, Pictures etc. of John Jackson R.A., sold at Christie's 15th-16th July 1831, London.
- Jerrold, W.B. (1863): The Works of Douglas Jerrold, 4 vols., London.
- Kennedy, I. (1968): Sir David Wilkie: Catalogue Raisonne of drawings in the Fitzwilliam Museum, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Cambridge University.

Klassiker der Kunst (1906-1909):

Rembrandt [Vol.2(1906)]

Rubens [Vol.5(1905)]

Van Dyck [Vol.13(1909)]

Correggio [Vol.10(1907)]

Stuttgart.

Knight, W. (1887): Memorials of Coleorton, Edinburgh.

Knighton, Lady D. (1838): Memoirs of Sir William Knighton, 2 vols., London.

Knowles, J. (1831): The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli, 3 vols., London.

Laing, David (1875): Etchings by Sir David Wilkie and Andrew Geddes, a Catalogue, London.

Laing, David (1879): Catalogue of the Collection of Rare and Curious Drawings Framed & in Portfolios; the property of a well known Old Scottish Collector [D.Laing] Recently Deceased, sold by T.Chapman & Son, 22nd-23rd Dec. 1879, Edinburgh.

Laing, David (1880): Catalogue of a Collection of Prints

Lane-Poole, S. (1888): The Life of Stratford Canning, 2 vols., London.

Lear, Edward (1907): Letters, London.

Le Blanc, C. (1848): Catalogue de l'oeuvre de Robert Strange, Leipzig.

Leicester Museum and Art Gallery (1963): Watercolours and Drawings, Catalogue, Leicester.

Leslie, C.R. (1860): Autobiographical Recollections, 2 vols., London.

Leslie, C.R. (1951): Memoirs of the Life of John Constable R.A., ed. J Mayne, London.

Levey, M. (1971): Painting at Court, London.

Lewis, J.F. (1971): John Frederick Lewis (1805-1876), Catalogue of Exhibition at Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle, 1st Oct-6th Nov. 1971.

Lockhart, J.G. (1837-1838): Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, 7 vols., Edinburgh.



- Lockhart, J.G. (1843): Review of Allan Cunningham's 'Life of Wilkie', Quarterly Review LXXII, pp 397-452.
- Lockhart, J.G. (1893): The Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart 1771-1832, New Popular Edition, London.
- Loewe, L. (1890): Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore, London.
- Louvre (1816): Descriptive Catalogue of the Antique Statues, Paintings and other products of the Fine Arts that existed in the Louvre at the time the Allies took possession of Paris in July 1815, Edinburgh.
- Lugt, Fritz (1953): Repertoire des Catalogues de Ventes Publiques, Interessant l'Art ou la Curiosite, 3 vols., La Haye.
- Maas, J. (1969): Victorian Painters, London.
- McColl, D.S. (1902): Nineteenth Century Art, Glasgow.
- McColl, D.S. (1910): 'On Two Works by Wilkie in the Tate Gallery', Burlington Magazine XII, pp 157ff.
- M'Crie, T. (1812): The Life of John Knox, Edinburgh.
- Mackenzie, A.M. (1950): Scottish Pageant, Edinburgh & London.
- Macmillan, J.D. (1974): The Early Work of Alexander Runciman and the Influences which Shaped his Style, unpublished Ph.D Thesis for Edinburgh University.
- Ma'oz, Moshe (1968): Ottoman Reform in Syria and Palestine 1840-1861, Oxford.
- Marius, G.H. (1973): Dutch Painters of the Nineteenth Century, ed. G.Norman, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
- Marks, A.S. (1968): The Paintings of David Wilkie to 1825, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis for London University, Courtauld Institute of Art, London.
- Marks, A.S. (1968a): 'David Wilkie's Letter of Introduction', Burlington Magazine CX, pp 125-133.
- Marks, A.S. (1974): 'David Wilkie's Portrait of his Parents', Burlington Magazine CXVI, pp 202-209.

- Mason, J. (1949): 'The Edinburgh School of Design',  
Book of the Old Edinburgh Club XXVII, pp 67-96.
- Masson, B.D. (1971): 'A Lost Wilkie', The Scots Magazine  
New Series, XCV No.6 (Sept.1971), pp 578-582.
- Miles, H. (1969a): 'Adnotatiunculae Leicestrienses:  
Wilkie and Washington Irving in Spain', Scottish  
Art Review XII No.1, pp 21-25 & 28.
- Miles, H. (1969b): 'Wilkie's Columbus', North Carolina  
Museum of Art Bulletin VIII No.3, pp 2-15.
- Miles, H. (1971): 'Wilkie's Illustrations for the  
Waverley Novels', Scottish Art Review XIII No.2,  
pp 1-6 & 29.
- Miles, H. (1975): 'John Graham and the Trustees'  
Academy', Scottish Art Review XIV No.4, pp 17-20  
& 29-30.
- Mollett, J.W. (1881): Sir David Wilkie, London.
- Morris, R. (1935): 'The Etchings of Walter Geikie',  
Print Collector's Quarterly XXII, pp 304-324.
- Mudie, R. (1822): A Historical Account of His Majesty's  
Visit to Scotland, London.
- Murdoch, W.G.B. (1927): 'The Prints of David Allan',  
Print Collector's Quarterly XIV,
- Muther, R. (1896): The History of Modern Painting,  
3 vols., London.
- Muther, R. (1907): The History of Painting from the  
Fourth to the Early Nineteenth Century, 2 vols.,  
New York & London.
- Napier, R.W. (1919): John Thomson of Duddingston,  
Edinburgh.
- Nasmyth, Alexander (1821): Sixteen Engravings from  
Real Scenes supposed to be described in the Novels  
and Tales of 'The Author of Waverley', engraved  
by W.H.Lizars, after drawings by A. Nasmyth,  
Edinburgh.
- Nasmyth, James (1883): An Autobiography, ed Samuel  
Smiles, London & Edinburgh.
- National Gallery of Scotland (1957): Pictures from  
Gosford House, lent by the Earl of Wemyss and  
March, NGS Exhibition 10th Aug.-15th Sept. 1957,  
Edinburgh.

- National Gallery of Scotland (1960a): Catalogue of Scottish Drawings, by K.Andrews & J.R.Brotchie, Edinburgh.
- National Gallery of Scotland (1960b): Selected Scottish Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- National Gallery of Scotland (1965): Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell, NGS Exhibition, July-Sept. 1965, Edinburgh.
- National Gallery of Scotland (1975):  
see Errington (1965).
- Norman, G. (1977): Nineteenth Century Painters and Painting. A Dictionary, London.
- Northcote, James (1898): Memorials of an Eighteenth Century Painter, ed. S.Gwynn, London.
- Oliphant, M. (1862): The Life of Edward Irving, 2nd ed., 2 vols., London.
- Oppé, A.P. (1953): English Drawings at Windsor Castle, London.
- Ottley, W.Y. (1818): Engravings of the Marquis of Stafford's Gallery of Pictures, 4 vols., London.
- Ottley, W.Y. (1877): A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Recent and Living Painters and Engravers, London.
- Paisley Museum and Art Gallery (1967):  
see Wilkie (1967).
- Phillip, John (1867): Art Journal XXIX, pp 127 & 153-157.
- Phillip, John (1967): Exhibition Catalogue by C.Carter, Aberdeen Art Gallery, Aberdeen.
- Pilkington, M. (1820): A General Dictionary of Painters, 2 vols., London.
- Pinnington, E. (1906): Sir David Wilkie and the Scots School of Painters, London.
- Porter, W.H. (1906): Cults and its Ministers 1560-1843, Cupar, Fife.
- Public Characters (1803-1804): Vol.6, ed. T.Gillet, London.

- Pye, J. (1970): Patronage of British Art, facsimile of 1845 edition, London.
- Quigley, J. (1923): 'David Roberts R.A. as a Watercolour Painter', Walker's Quarterly No.10 (Jan. 1923), pp 3-32.
- Raimbach, Abraham (1843): Memoirs and Recollections of the late Abraham Raimbach, Esq., Engraver, including a Memoir of Sir David Wilkie, R.A., ed. M.T.S.Raimbach, London.
- Ramsay, Allan (1788): The Gentle Shepherd, Glasgow.
- Ramsay, Allan (1808): The Gentle Shepherd, Newhall Edition, Edinburgh.
- Ramsay, Allan (1880): The Gentle Shepherd, facsimile of 1788 edition, with illustrations by D.Allan, Edinburgh & London.  
see Allan (1880).
- Ramsay, M.P. (1938): Calvin and Art considered in Relation to Scotland, Edinburgh & London.
- Redgrave, R. & S. (1890): A Century of Painters of the English School, 2nd. ed., London.
- Reitlinger, G. (1961): The Economies of Taste, 3 vols., London.
- Reynolds, G. (1953): Painters of the Victorian Scene, London.
- Reynolds, Sir Joshua (1959): Discourses, ed. R.R.Wark, San Marino, California.
- Rinder, F. & McKay, W.D. (1917): The Royal Scottish Academy 1826-1916, Glasgow.
- Roberts, David (1842-1849): The Holy Land...from drawings made on the spot, 3 vols., London.
- Roberts, David & Stanfield, Clarkson (1967): Catalogue by J.L.Howgego of Exhibition at Guildhall Art Gallery, London.
- Robertson, A. (1895): Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson, ed. E.Robertson, London.
- Rogers, Samuel (1895): Recollections, London.
- Rorimer, A. (1972): Drawings by William Mulready, London.

- Rouquet, J.A. (1755): The Present State of the Arts in England, London.
- Rowlands, J. (1977): Rubens' Drawings and Sketches, Catalogue of Exhibition at BM Dept. of Prints & Drawings, London.
- Royal Academy of Arts (1939): Scottish Art, Catalogue of Exhibition, London.
- Ruskin, John (1897): Modern Painters, London.
- Scott, Sir Walter (1827-1833): Waverley Novels, with Illustrations by Scottish Artists, 20 vols., Edinburgh.
- Scott, Sir Walter (1847): The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., Edinburgh.
- Scott, Sir Walter (1901): The Waverley Novels, New Pocket Edition, 20 vols., London.
- Scottish National Portrait Gallery (1961): The Visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822, Exhibition Catalogue by B.Skinner, Edinburgh.
- Scottish National Portrait Gallery (1963): The Scottish Domestic Scene, Exhibition Catalogue by B.Skinner, Edinburgh.
- Scottish National Portrait Gallery (1964): Scott and his Circle, Exhibition Catalogue by R.Hutchison, Edinburgh.
- Scrope, W. (1975): Days and Nights of Salmon Fishing, Edinburgh.
- Searight, S. (1969): The British in the Middle East, London.
- Severn, Joseph (1892): The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn, by W.Sharp, London.
- Sharp, W. (1886): Great English Painters: Selected Biographies from Allan Cunningham's 'Lives of Eminent British Painters', London.
- Sharp, W. (1906): Progress of Art in the Century, Edinburgh.
- Shee, M.A. (1809): Elements of Art, London.
- Short, E.H. (1953): A History of British Painting, London.



- Simpson, Rev. A.L. (1884): Sir David Wilkie: his Life and Works, London.
- Sinclair, Rev. J. (1837): Memoirs of the Life and Works of Sir John Sinclair, Bart, 2 vols., Edinburgh.
- Sinclair, Sir John (1791-1799): The Statistical Account of Scotland, 21 vols., Edinburgh.
- Sinclair, Sir John (1831): Correspondence, 2 vols., London.
- Sitwell, S. (1937): Narrative Pictures, London.
- Skinner, B. (1959): 'On Cutting Up Pictures', Glasgow Herald, 11th April 1959.
- Skinner, B. (1962): 'Scots Fairs and Markets', Scotland's Magazine LVIII (Feb. 1962), pp 20-24.
- Skinner, B. (1963): The Scottish Domestic Scene, Edinburgh.
- Skinner, B. (1966a): 'Nasmyth Revalued', Scottish Art Review X No.3, pp 10-13 & 28.
- Skinner, B. (1966b): Scots in Italy in the Eighteenth Century, Edinburgh.
- Skinner, B. (1973): The Indefatigable Mr. Allan, Catalogue of Scottish Arts Council Exhibition, Edinburgh.
- Smart, A. (1952): The Life and Art of Allan Ramsay, London.
- Smellie, William (1782): Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh.
- Smith, J. (1829-1837): A Catalogue Raisonne of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters, 8 vols., London.
- Smith, J.T. (1920): Nollekens and his Times, ed. W.Whitten, London.
- Sparrow, W.S., West, W.K., & Wood, T.M. (1904): The Royal Academy from Reynolds to Millais, ed. C.Holme, London, Paris & New York.
- Stark, J. (1806): Picture of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.

- Steeegman, J. (1938): 'Three Early Portraits by Wilkie', Burlington Magazine LXXII, pp 189ff.
- Steeegman, J. (1968): The Rule of Taste from George I to George IV, London.
- Stenlake, F. (1970): Sir William Allan, unpublished Dissertation for a Postgraduate Diploma at Edinburgh University.
- Stephens, E.G. (1890): Memorials of William Mulready, revised edition, London.
- Stokes, H. (1929): 'J.F. Lewis', Walker's Quarterly No.28 (1929), London.
- Strange, Sir Robert (1769): A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Pictures selected from the Roman, Florentine, Lombard, Venetian, Neapolitan, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools, London.
- Strange, Sir Robert (1775a): A Collection of Historical Prints...with Descriptive Remarks on the Same, London.
- Strange, Sir Robert (1775b): Inquiry into the Rise and Establishment of the Royal Academy of Arts, London.
- Thackeray, W.M. (1865): From Cornhill to Cairo, London.
- Thomas, D. (1971): The Price Guide to English Watercolours 1750-1900, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
- Thompson, J.R.F. (1970): 'David Allan and the Hamilton Portraits', Connoisseur CLXXIII, pp 250-253.
- Thomson, Mrs. K. (1854): Recollections of Literary Characters and Celebrated Places, 2 vols., London.
- Tibawi, A.L. (1961): British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901, Oxford.
- Tibawi, A.L. (1966): American Interests in Syria 1800-1901, Oxford.
- Turner, Dawson (1840): Outlines in Lithography from a Small Collection of Pictures, Yarmouth.
- Tytler, S. (1893): Modern Painters and their Paintings, London.

- Uwins, Mrs. T. (1858): A Memoir of Thomas Uwins R.A., 2 vols., London.
- Waagen, G.F. (1838): Works of Art and Artists in England, 3 vols., London.
- Waagen, G.F. (1854-1857): Treasures of Art in Great Britain, 3 vols. & suppl., London.
- Wakefield, D. (1973): Stendhal and the Arts, London.
- Walker, Alexander (1836): Analysis of Beauty, London.
- Walker, George (1807): Descriptive Catalogue of a Choice Assemblage of Original Pictures, Edinburgh.
- Walpole, Horace (1888): Anecdotes of Painting in England, 1888.
- Watkeys, F.W. (1908): Old Edinburgh, 2 vols., Boston.
- Watts, A.A. (1836): The Cabinet of Modern Art and Literary Souvenir, Including a notice of the Works of Thomas Uwins, 2nd series, London.
- Wedmore, F. (1880): The Masters of Genre Painting, London.
- Welland, D.S.R. (1953): The PreRaphaelites in Literature and Art, London.
- Wellington, E. (1901): A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures and Sculptures at Apsley House, 2 vols., London.
- West, Benjamin, P.R.A. (1836): Collection of Original Drawings by Early Masters, sold by Sotheby's, 11th May 1836, London.
- White, C. (1969): Rembrandt as an Etcher, 2 vols., London.
- Whitefoord, Caleb (1898):  
see Hewins (1898).
- Whitley, W.T. (1928a): Artists and their Friends in England 1700-1799, 2 vols., London.
- Whitley, W.T. (1928b-1930): Art in England 1800-1837, Cambridge.
- Whitley, W.T. (1933): Thomas Heaphy, London.
- Wilkie, Rev. D. (1794): Theory of Interest, Edinburgh.

- Wilkie, Sir David (1836): Catalogue of a highly interesting Collection of upward of two hundred sketches in pen and ink by David Wilkie Esq., R.A., sold by Christie's, 11th-12th May 1836, London.
- Wilkie, Sir David (1842a): Catalogue of the works of Sir David Wilkie, R.A., deceased; including all the sketches made during his last tour of the East; painting implements etc., sold by Christie's, 25th-30th April 1842, London.
- Wilkie, Sir David (1842b): Catalogue of the engraved copper plates and impressions and other engravings, a few books and the painting implements and costumes, the property of Sir David Wilkie, R.A. deceased, sold by Christie's, 3rd-4th May 1842, London.
- Wilkie, Sir David (1842c): Catalogue of Drawings and Sketches by Sir David Wilkie, the property of Benjamin Godfrey Windus Esq. of Tottenham, sold by Christie's, 1st-2nd June 1842, London.
- Wilkie, Sir David (1843): Sketches in Turkey, Syria, and Egypt 1840-1841, London.
- Wilkie, Sir David (1847): Sketches in Spain, Italy and the East, London.
- Wilkie, Sir David (1860): Catalogue of the whole of the remaining Beautiful Works of Sir David Wilkie, R.A. sold by Christie's 20th-21st June 1860, London.
- Wilkie, Sir David, (1958a):  
see Woodward (1958).
- Wilkie, Sir David (1958b): Souvenir of the 1958 Wilkie Exhibition [see Woodward (1958)], with 46 illustrations, London.
- Wilkie, Sir David (1964): Catalogue of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Drawings & Paintings, including.. a series of Sketches by Sir David Wilkie R.A. The Property of Mrs. N.C. Butler, sold by Sotheby's, 12th Feb. 1964, London.
- Wilkie, Sir David (1967): An Exhibition of Works by Allan Ramsay (1713-1784) and Sir David Wilkie (1785-1841), 10th-31st Jan. 1967, at Paisley Museum and Art Gallery, Paisley.
- Wilkie, Sir David (n.d.): The Wilkie Gallery, A Selection of the best pictures of the late Sir David Wilkie R.A. including his Spanish and Oriental sketches, with notices biographical and critical, London & New York [c.1847].

- Wilkie, Sir David (n.d.): Exhibition of the work of Sir David Wilkie in the Buccleuch Collection, [c.1977].
- Wilson, C.H. (1839): Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Antique Statues in the Trustees' Academy, Edinburgh.
- Winckelmann, J.J. (1850): The History of Ancient Art among the Greeks, tr. G.H.Lodge, 2 pts. (in 1), London.
- Wind, E. (1938-1939): 'The Revolution of History Painting', J.W.C.I. II, pp 116-127.
- Wittig, K. (1958): The Scottish Tradition in Literature, Edinburgh & London.
- Wolf, L. (1884): Sir Moses Montefiore: A Centennial Biography, London.
- Woodward, J. (1958): Paintings and Drawings by Sir David Wilkie, Catalogue of Exhibition at NGS 16th Aug.-21st Sept. 1958, and at RA, London.
- Woodward, J. (1962): 'Wilkie's Portrait of Esdaile', Burlington Magazine CIV, p 117.
- Wordsworth, William (1963): Lyrical Ballads with a few other poems, 2nd edition, ed. R.L.Brett & A.R. Jones, London.
- Wordsworth, William (1967): The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, ed. De Selincourt, Oxford.
- Wright, Peter (1804): 'Sketch of the life of David Allan', Scots Magazine (Dec 1804), pp 912.
- Young, J. (1823): A Catalogue of the Celebrated Collection of Pictures of the late John Julius Angerstein, Esq, London.
- Young, J.A. : A Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures of the Marquis of Stafford at Cleveland House, 2 vols., London.
- Younger, A. (n.d.): French Engravers of the Eighteenth Century, London & Edinburgh [n.d.] .
- \*\*\*\*\* (1824): Edinburgh Annual Register, Vol.XVII, Edinburgh.
- \*\*\*\*\* (1833): 'British School of Living Painters: David Wilkie', Arnold's Magazine of the Fine Arts, New Series, III, pp 195ff.



- \*\*\*\*\* (1841): 'Sir David Wilkie and his Friends',  
Fraser's Magazine, XXIV, pp 443ff.
- \*\*\*\*\* (1860): 'Royal Hibernian Academy Exhibition',  
Dublin Builder II, pp 265.
- \*\*\*\*\* (n.d.): Biblical Engravings, including plans  
of Jerusalem, maps of the Holy Land, and  
chrono-genealogies of the patriarchs, etc.,  
Published by Blackie & Co. Glasgow, and A. Fullarton  
& Co., Edinburgh. With illustrations by  
D.Scott, T.Stothard, Calmet, B.West, J.Opie,  
J.Northcote, R.Westall W Hamilton, P.J. de  
Louthembourg.

### Catalogues and Periodicals.

Only the most relevant catalogues and periodicals for the period 1785-1841 which have been examined for references to Wilkie are given here. References to catalogues of private and public collections are given where appropriate under entries in Volume 2.

#### Sale and exhibition catalogues.

Agnew.

Christie.

Sotheby.

Fine Art Society.

Colnaghi.

#### Periodicals.

The Art Union: continued as the Art Journal 1839-1912.

Arnolds Magazine of the Fine Arts 1831-1834.

The Athenaeum 1828-1845.

Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country 1830-1850.

The Gentleman's Magazine 1806-1845.

Scots Magazine.

The Scottish Art Review.